

READINGS IN TRADE UNIONISM



DAVID J. SAPOSS

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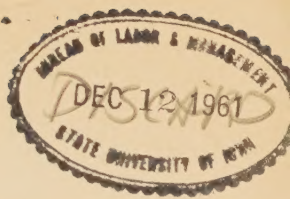
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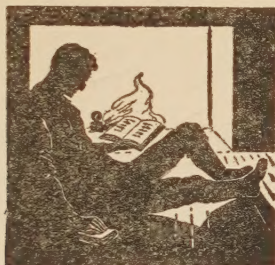


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READINGS IN TRADE
UNIONISM

DAVID J. SAPOSS

"Be Workmen still, to workmen true,
Amongst Ourselves United
For Never but by workmen's hands
Can workmen's wrongs be righted."
American Federationist.

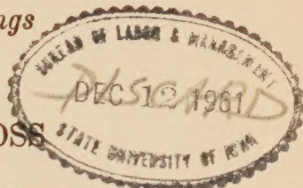
Labor Union

READINGS IN TRADE UNIONISM

*Labor Organization Principles and Problems
as Discussed by Trade Unionists
in Their Official Publica-
tions and Writings*

BY

DAVID J. SAPOSS



BROOKWOOD LABOR COLLEGE; WORKERS' UNIVERSITY, INTERNATIONAL
LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION; CO-AUTHOR, "HISTORY
OF LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES"

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF

BERTHA TIGAY SAPOSS

SOMETIME INVESTIGATOR PENNSYLVANIA OLD AGE PENSION COMMIS-
SION, AND CABOT FUND STUDY OF TWELVE HOUR DAY AND
SEVEN DAY WEEK IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY

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READINGS IN TRADE UNIONISM

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BY

DAVID J. BATES

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READINGS IN TRADE UNIONISM

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DEDICATION

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO THE RANK
AND FILE TRADE UNIONISTS IN THE HOPE
THAT IT WILL AID IN A MORE THOROUGH
UNDERSTANDING OF THE LABOR MOVE-
MENT AND THEREBY INDUCE A MORE IN-
TELLIGENT AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

INTRODUCTION

As a powerful and articulate social force organized labor has been extensively discussed and studied. Still the general reader, the student, and many of the writers and teachers of labor are either totally unaware or only slightly familiar with the vast literature in which labor speaks for itself. Unfortunately these publications and writings are not readily available outside certain centers and libraries. Consequently they are generally a closed book to even most of those who take a keen interest in the labor movement. Hence most of those interested in labor have formed the habit of practically entirely relying on the writings of observers in order to learn how it envisages and enacts its rôle. It will surely be acknowledged that a more desirable procedure would be to at least supplement the writings of observers by those of participants. This handy source book undertakes to partially overcome this unsatisfactory situation by providing sample labor writings, as well as a composite presentation of the trade unionists' own conception of trade unionism.

Those teaching labor subjects must have particularly experienced my predicament in the lack of such a source to which they could refer their students. As one teaching trade unionist students I especially felt the need of a book of selected readings garnered from representative official union literature, and so classified that it affords a coordinate and comprehensive delineation of the attitudes and problems of organized labor. I have found it unsatisfactory to rely exclusively on academic texts and other writings of non-participants. But even with the substantial collection of labor literature in our library it was impractical to improvise such reference readings. Obviously it would be wasteful duplication, though it were possible and the requisite representative union publications were available, for each teacher to independently search out such material. This, then, was the prime purpose of interesting the Workers Education Bureau in the preparation of this volume.

On the basis of the foregoing objective we set about to compile sample material on all vital attitudes and problems with which the trade union movement concerns itself. The selections were culled, as the references indicate, from offi-

cial trade union literature. Only in one instance was an unofficial source resorted to. However, this book, *Organized Labor*, bears the name of John Mitchell, who was indeed qualified to speak as a union representative. And a book of Readings in Trade Unionism would certainly be incomplete without including his views on some phases of the movement. These readings may, therefore, be regarded as a semi-official exposition and interpretation of the trade union movement.

In collating the material the editor was guided by the proposition, that the trade union is the main spring of the labor movement. All other divisions and activities more or less radiate from and are dependent upon it. And, since the bulk of organized workers are members of unions composing the American Federation of Labor, these readings, with the one exception mentioned above, were selected from the literature issued by the parent body or its affiliated units. In so far as diverse and conflicting views on fundamentals are recorded in these sources they are included in this volume.

In apportioning the contents more space is assigned to the practical and concrete phases of the movement than to the theoretical side which has already been voluminously covered and is more accessible. On the other hand the routine and technical aspects have generally either been casually referred to or entirely ignored. A perusal of the contents will reveal that the largest part of the book deals with the subjects ordinarily not even referred to in books on labor problems and trade unionism. Yet it is these affairs that chiefly occupy the stage in the great drama which is being daily enacted by the organized workers.

Besides making available samples of trade union writings on the salient concepts and practices in the trade union movement, this compilation presents other incidental advantages. It introduces the student to (1) the procedure of unions in arriving at, promulgating and applying decisions, (2) the character of the literature issued by unions, and (3) the personnel of the movement. Many of the excerpts were taken from convention proceedings in the form of resolutions, officers' and committee reports. A large part of one convention debate is also reproduced. Other excerpts were selected from editorials, articles, speeches and membership correspondence appearing in the official union

organs. A fair portion was also gathered from propaganda pamphlets, leaflets and dodgers. To further aid the student in familiarizing himself with trade union literature and leaders a bibliography of the labor publications that have been drawn upon is appended. Likewise, a "Who's Who" of those whose writings have been used is included.

Because this book is intended for use by students, who for the most part have still to learn the art of abstracting the kernel from their reading matter, it was deemed advisable to let the sub-heading convey the gist of the excerpt. This should aid the student in detecting the central thought and thereby somewhat lighten his task of mastering the text. Extreme care was taken to draw upon the articles for the important words or phrases in order to guard against injecting the bias of the editor. Hence, the sub-headings approximate the opinions of the writers as discussed in the body of the text, and not the opinion of the compiler.

Originally it was planned to include an extensive section of appendices illustrating many significant union attitudes and practices. The fact that this addition would have increased the size of the book, thereby augmenting its price, made it expedient to omit these appendices. In spite of the cost, however, they would have been included had it not been for the fact that the documents considered are readily available in print and can usually be secured from the different unions for the asking. By encouraging the individual student to obtain and study the printed literature of some union this omission can be more readily rectified. Thus, in connection with *The Theory of the Labor Movement* familiarity with at least the preamble is desirable; in studying *Trade Union Government* the constitution might be read; and in considering collective bargaining copies of trade agreements could be studied. Likewise, in order that the student be conversant with the current reaction of the labor world to the principles and problems presented in this volume, he should be encouraged to familiarize himself with the latest labor literature.

Furthermore, the student in workers' classes should be encouraged to make a systematic study of his union while using this book. If he is persistent and resourceful it should not be difficult for him to accumulate sufficient printed matter to more or less parallel the subjects covered herein. By compiling a scrap book of this sort the trade union

student might provide himself with a compass which would not only enable him to orient his conceptions, but would also serve as a guide in determining the extent to which his union conforms or dissents from the prevailing attitudes and practices in the movement. Without this background he cannot hope to be an intelligent participant either as subscriber or critic.

Without the permission of the various authors and editors of labor publications to reprint their writings this volume would not have been possible. Many of the editors were kind enough to supply us with copies of journals from their back files, and all made a special effort to expedite the preparation of this book. Their assistance and prompt responses were of inestimable value.

Brookwood Labor College, in keeping with its aspirations to serve workers' education and the labor movement, unreservedly placed its labor collection and other resources at our disposal.

I am under great obligations to Miss Fannia M. Cohn and Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., for constant encouragement and advice.

I am also indebted to various other persons whose names are too numerous to mention for reading portions of the manuscript and making valuable editorial suggestions, but I am especially grateful to Professor F. S. Deibler, Northwestern University; Professor David A. McCabe, Princeton University; Professor B. H. Beckhart, Columbia University; Mr. Alfred L. Bernheim, The Labor Bureau, Inc.; Miss Florence Thorne, Research Worker, American Federation of Labor; Miss Theresa Wolfson, Labor Research worker, and Mr. Solon DeLeon, Director, Labor Research Department, Rand School of Social Science.

Bertha Tigay Saposs did the research work under my supervision. She also assisted in selecting and classifying the material, as well as in preparing the volume for the printer. I am, therefore, acknowledging her collaboration on the title page.

I alone, however, am responsible for the classification of material, wording of the chapter titles and sub-headings, and final determination as to the representative nature of the various selections.

DAVID J. SAPOSS.

Brookwood Labor College,
November, 1925.

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**BOOK I. THE THEORY OF THE
LABOR MOVEMENT**

"The labor movement is born of hunger; hunger for food, for shelter, warmth, clothing and pleasure. This hunger provokes activities and desires, increasing in number and quality, each satisfaction awakening an aspiration for the possession of the opportunities and enjoyments of a higher manhood. The meager clothing and debasing pleasures is succeeded by the aspirations for more and better, the aspiration for the better creating the desire, the desire forcing the demand, and the demand compelling the supply." (George E. McNeill, in *Philosophy of the Labor Movement*, a pamphlet issued by the American Federation of Labor.)

PART I. ORIGIN OF THE WORKING CLASS, ITS BELIEFS AND ASPIRATIONS

CHAPTER I

PHILOSOPHIC BASIS OF ORGANIZED LABOR

A. Private Property and the Modern Industrial Order Bring Forth the Working Class with Its Struggles for Freedom and Justice.

(Taken from "Fundamental Universal Service," by
Samuel Gompers, in *American Federationist*, No-
vember, 1916, p. 1037)

In the world's development and progress there has been an agency that has brought opportunity into the lives of millions—universally misunderstood, inspired by highest idealism, untutored and often clumsy in its efforts to accomplish results—the labor movement.

1. ETERNAL PROBLEM OF LABOR IS CONTROL OF PROPERTY

The eternal problem with which the labor movement has to cope is control of property—to bring property into such relations to human life that it will serve and not injure. The struggle has been long and hard but the day is past when the labor movement has to justify its right to be classified as a necessary agency with a function to perform in achieving greater freedom and justice. Its claim to acceptance as an instrumentality for achieving human progress is based upon the nature and the value of the service it renders. It was born out of efforts of workers to think out modern phases of that world-old universal problem—property.

Trade unions regard property and the laws of property as human institutions, intended for service in the development of individuality, giving each a feeling of security and

assurance and independence, which mean freedom to direct and control his life.

2. THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

The progress of history has been toward establishing equal opportunity for all, for the development and expression of individuality. As the problems of rights have been thought out they have had also to be fought out—for back of ideals there must be aggressive assertiveness that grows out of conviction. New ideals are revolutionizing forces. Sometimes changes have been brought about by appeals to reason and ultimately to self-interest, and we call the process evolution. Sometimes the wronged classes have had to establish new ideals of human rights by sacrificing life and blood, and we call the process revolution. Sometimes the oppressed classes have had to maintain their rights and compel recognition of responsibility by interposing their economic power, and we call it a strike. But whatever the process, whether evolution, revolution, or strike, surely though often slowly, the customs and institutions of one period have given way to wider ideals and greater opportunity for greater numbers.

In our own country the Declaration of Independence of the American Colonies not only created a new nation but set forth a new concept of human rights, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Civil War which resulted in the liberation of four million human slaves from chattel bondage gave, aye, even a broader meaning to the principle of human liberty.

One king's head cleared the way for a reasonable attitude indispensable for evolutionary progress. The French revolution with Louis XVI at the guillotine tore the roots of feudalism loose from their grip on Europe. Progress whether evolutionary or revolutionary up to the Nineteenth Century put agencies of control into ever widening groups of property owners, until there remained disinherited politically as well as economically only those who held no property but who worked for others. With the decline of feudalism, which did impose a degree of responsibility upon the overlord for the well-being of his serfs and villeins and assured them permanence of relations, there developed the modern industrial system, under which relations between

those who worked and those who hired became purely industrial, impersonal, regarded by employers as a part of their mechanism for profits.

3. THE INDUSTRIAL ORDER AND A PROPERTYLESS WORKING CLASS

Under this industrial order employes lost standing as individuals. As wage-earners only and as factors in great industrial systems they no longer owned the tools of production, they lost even a qualified ownership of land or property, they became part of the machinery of production and distribution, without permanence of employment or assurance of securing the necessities for livelihood. Under such conditions there could be no dignity of life or service, no opportunity for individuality, no freedom—but the crushing irresponsible power of employers threatened to grind the creative energy out of one generation only to seize upon the next generation weakened by inherited tendencies due to economic oppression until the masses of the nations sank to sweatshop standards. Undernourished weaklings who work long hours and are denied the right to direct their own lives do not normally have strong, resourceful, masterful children.

Out of their needs, out of their oppression, out of their weakness, wage-earners evolved an agency for their protection. They reasoned that if they were denied the right to a voice in determining the terms under which they worked, they would fold their arms and refuse to work. Human labor power is necessary to coordinate the machinery and the process of production. By striking, by withholding labor power, wage-earners can bring employers to an appreciation of the value of the human element in production. That service, so customary that employers have taken it for granted, is part of a human life. When all reason fails, strikes can put better understanding into the minds of the employers and induce them to a proper regard for employes. Thus by the trade unions those who participate in the processes of industry have fought and won opportunity to a voice in management in industry. Those who use the tools have a right to say how long, for what returns and under what conditions they will use the tools.

Trade unions are a very potent agency in the terrific

struggle for industrial freedom which must precede real freedom, freedom for self-direction and self-control.

Men and women can not live during working hours under autocratic conditions, and instantly become sons and daughters of freedom as they step outside the shop gates.

The experiences of the habits of the shop are indelibly ground into the souls and minds of the workers.

Democracy must come in the factory and the shop before it can be realized in the life of the nation. So long as the factory boss has irresponsible power to hire and fire, to dole out the lowest wages for which men and women or children can work, his employes have no rights that must be respected, no sense of self-respect or dignity, no real freedom.

Long hours of work, low wages, insanitary conditions of work and waste of human power affect not only the workers but their home life, their children and their children's children.

It is somewhat startling to find cynical disregard for the human element in production coexistent with a growing appreciation of the value of human life and more sensitive consciences. But these conditions are bound up with concepts of property and property rights. Unchallenged control over large holdings and capital gives employers power—indeterminate, irresponsible, all-pervading power—over the lives of those who work for wages. Only by interposing a force which gives a power similar to that of property can wage-earners secure recognition of their rights—that force is economic organization. Through trade unions they match economic power with economic power and their power is the more fundamental. It is control over creative activity.

4. THE STRUGGLE FOR ORGANIZATION

Because employers know that trade unions put restrictions upon their power and interpose a check upon their plans to appropriate proceeds that ought to be paid in wages, employers have concentrated every agency and force they could employ to crush trade unions and to hold workers in subjection. Employers oppose and fear the trade union because they know its effectiveness. They fight it not only upon the economic fields with economic forces but they carry the fight into the political. They tried to establish through the courts that trade unions are pernicious

organizations and illegal conspiracies; they tried to outlaw the necessary legitimate activities of trade unions; they wished to have strikes regarded as illegal; they tried to prevent wage-earners on strike from telling their wrongs to fellow wage-earners asking them to make common cause; they have tried to penalize workers for giving information that manufacturers do not maintain conditions of work in accord with standards established by workers as necessary to protect human life. In all their contentions and in all their efforts, employers are trying to maintain profits and control over property that gives power.

Conditions under which human life is exploited and human freedom is denied are intolerable not only to the oppressed but to fair-minded, liberty-loving men and women.

As the meaning of the industrial problem has been forced upon the attention of an increasing number and finally upon the whole nation when an impending strike assumed the proportions of a strike upon all the railroad lines from coast to coast, the nation woke up to the fact that a revolution was in progress—a real revolution, though bloodless. By that revolution a new order is coming into being, old standards and old institutions are passing and the agencies of power and control will no longer belong exclusively to the property-holding classes but will be shared by wage-earners, the wealth-producers—the masses.

As this revolution carries on the work of the American and French Revolutions, it will bring the Fourth Estate into equality with those who have already secured opportunity to direct and control their lives. It means that those who use the tools of production shall have a voice in the management of the processes of industry and in bringing about a more equitable distribution of the returns from production. It means that all those who contribute to the whole process of production—whether materials, managerial ability, constructive planning, or discerning resourceful creative labor power necessary to execute plans and to manage machinery shall have a representative voice in determining conditions under which they contribute their share in production as well as in distribution of the proceeds of production. In this new order which is in the birth struggle and has its growth every day, Labor will be digni-

fied and rewarded; exploitation will be outlawed and brought into disrepute; property will be made to perform its legitimate logical functions—use and service to mankind.

But because they understand the meaning and the purposes of trade unions, employers have organized society against them. The problems which the trade unions must solve are class problems—problems which grow out of the daily lives and work of wage-earners. The trade unions have purpose and force because they represent primary demands of the bodies and the spirits of men—the demands are expressed in concrete material demands for higher wages, shorter workday, better conservation of human life. But, back of these material demands are the repressed human desires for bodily comfort, human companionship in the home, in social relationship, in dreaming the dreams of social justice, in aspiring to the highest ideals of human brotherhood. Although I am fully appreciative of the wretchedness and the misery out of which the labor movement grows, I do not wish anyone to imagine the masses, the toilers, do not have their dreams and their visions even though they may be inarticulate.

5. THE TRADE UNION WILL ACHIEVE EQUALITY FOR THE WORKING CLASS

Whatever is new must establish the justice of its claims before it becomes accepted. Because the ideals of trade unions represent intellectual longing for knowledge and the desire and the will for freedom, they have a rightful place among the moral humanitarian forces that have lifted life to higher, clearer heights of thought and action. The textile worker has all the desires and the attributes of the mill owner—he differs only in opportunity and means for gratification.

Class is no surety of genius, ability or wisdom. No man is fit to control the lives of his fellows. The trade unions are the agencies through which wage-earners are working out their destinies and interposing a check upon arbitrary power in industry.

The spiritual effect of industrial freedom is of incalculable potency in determining the moral fiber of the nation.

The struggle of the trade union movement has been a hard, rough struggle, but it is a real struggle for human

freedom and free institutions. It has had its martyrs, its prisoners, its earnest, fearless, inspired leaders as has every movement for political freedom. Its ideals and its needs keep it true to the causes of humanity.

6. THE TRADE UNION STANDS FOR HUMANITY

The trade union seeks to exalt human life—to demand justice and opportunity for all those who furnish creative service to the world. It protects the weak and oppressed and destroys the power of the arrogant. It is the great human democratizing force.

This is its service to humanity—a universal service that brings a message of hope to all. Misery, distress, present injustice are bearable if there is a way out to better things—exclude the hope and life is plunged into blackness. Trade unionism is that in which wage-earners put their faith. The achievements of trade unionism justify their faith. There is no universal service in any field of activity which does not uplift all humanity. Service to humanity does in a sense further self-interests but only when these are not subversive to the welfare of fellow beings and workers. The opportunities for better life and greater freedom won by the workers are shared with all other members of society. The agency devised by wage-earners—the principle of economic organization—is universal in its application and benignant service to all who work. The universality of the principle is recently being made more apparent by the cleavage separating workers from those who live by the toil of others and recognizing the community of interests among all producers—both those who work with their minds and hands or with their minds only. The cleavage is the basis for the new championship of trade unionism by teachers, actors, authors, government employes, etc. It demonstrates that economic organization can perform a service for all workers.

In the early development of the trade union its function is chiefly protective and militant; as it becomes an established social agency its functions become constructive. It is based upon elemental power, stronger, more vital than political power. It is an organism next to primitive life forces.

It is a world-old movement that has led the workers

out of slavery into serfdom, out of serfdom into legal, physical freedom, and has given that freedom a real meaning in political and economic relations of society.

It is a service that is as wide as the universe and as lasting. It seeks to make workers entirely free of legal mortgage which property owners have held over their opportunities and their lives. The achievements of the trade union movement will go down through the ages with the glory of impersonal immortality that has secured opportunity for all of all generations.

B. The Permanent Status of the Wage-Earner Makes Organization Indispensable.

(Taken from John Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, preface, pp. ix-x, American Book and Bible House, Philadelphia, 1903)

The average wage-earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage-earner. He has given up the hope of a kingdom to come, where he himself will be a capitalist, and he asks that the reward for his work be given to him as a workingman. Singly, he has been too weak to enforce his just demands and he has sought strength in union and has associated himself into labor organizations.

The trade unions stand for the principle of united action, and for the policy of a living wage earned under fair living conditions. In union there is strength, justice, and moderation; in disunion, nothing but an alternating humility and insolence, a state of industrial despotism tempered by futile and passing revolutions.

C. Unions are Inevitable.

(Taken from "The Trade Union," by E. G. Manion, in *Railroad Telegrapher*, May, 1924, p. 433)

The trade union exists because it fills a need and meets a situation that can be filled and met by no other agency. To denounce unions or to acclaim them means nothing and proves nothing against the fact that they exist. The reason for the existence and growth of unions can only be known or understood by an examination of the conditions which gave them birth.

To understand and know in that instance, it is well that we keep in mind certain facts concerning men and their

reactions to circumstances. Let us remember that man is not a "solitary" dwelling apart, and, as an individual, having nothing in common with others of his species. Man is a gregarious creature, a social being, and always the product of society, be that society a limited one such as the gens, tribe, or clan, a federation of such, or of National and International development.

Man had to cooperate to exist and cooperation is "second nature" to him. Even to destroy he must cooperate. By cooperative effort he has destroyed the great beasts who threatened and subjected others to his purposes. To build and make the things with which he surrounds himself for purposes of defense, accommodation and use, he must of necessity cooperate and join with his fellows and produce. The necessity for, desire for, and urgency of cooperative effort—on either a small or a large field—is inherent in and of the very fibre of man. It is his distinguishing characteristic among all of God's creatures.

That being so, and who can deny, why should not, and why would not, the wage laborer, so soon as he came into being as a separate unit in society, find it necessary to cooperate in a desire to build conditions favorable to him and his as wage-earners? Stripped of all the hyperbole and imagery of those who idealize and those who decry, the wage-earner is a man, and, as such necessarily seeks by cooperative effort, the power of numbers, to aid, protect and defend his manhood—his right to live decently and as a free man.

The urge in him to organize and cooperate is the urge of the universe itself, and those who would prevent him obeying that urge must realize the task is one that can not be accomplished without setting aside and making of no account the laws governing that universe. An undertaking such as that seems to me to take on the appearance of rainbow chasing.

In a world where all sorts and conditions of men are urged to organize, where business man and banker, doctor and lawyer, the collector of stamps and the collector of dollars, are being urged, driven, cajoled and excited into joining organizations without number; in a world where to stand alone is to fall, there is no reason why wage-earners should not also have their organizations and be also urged to join.

D. Although Antagonistic, Capital and Labor are Interdependent.

(An editorial, "Capital and Labor," in *The Carpenter*, November, 1921, p. 19)

It is unfortunate, but a fact, that too often orators and others who discuss the relations of capital and labor fail to recognize that the interests of the two are identical in needing production and prosperity, but are antagonistic when bartering over wages and conditions of work. The success of each lies in the direction of the success of the other, and neither can prosper long at the expense of the other.

The thoughtless may imagine that increased wages, or conditions reducing output, come out of capital, but they do not. Wages are never paid from capital. They come from exactly the same source as profits, from production. The employer and the employe get their returns from the same cash drawer and neither can get out more than is put into it. Production is in the interest of both, for without production there will be no returns for either. Their rewards will be based on what is produced and conditions that interfere with production or make the cost abnormal will be ruinous to both.

The only conflict there can be between employer and employe relates to the proportions of the return each shall receive on their joint output. There should be an equitable division, but there must be something to divide and the more there is the greater the possibility of reward for each.

The prosperity of the United States is inseparably linked with that of the rest of the world. We can not use all our factories make, nor can we eat all our farms produce. We must sell our surplus abroad and the price we get for it will regulate in a large measure what is paid in the home market. We must produce and sell in competition with the rest of the world. The American capitalist and laborer must take what the world will pay for their product. They can not dictate the price, but they can increase the percentage of profit by adding to output. It is, therefore, in the direction of greater efficiency and higher production that the industrial prosperity of this country lies. That must be attained by cooperation and the coordination of

effort on the part of those who are working for wages and for dividends.

E. The Labor Movement Demands a Sound and Just Economic Basis for Life.

(Labor Day Proclamation of A. F. of L. Executive Council, quoted in *Cigar Makers' Official Journal*, July 15, 1923, p. 8)

Having regard for the need of keeping constantly before the masses of our people the highest ideals of our labor movement and the requirement of our people for the complete fullness of life in all things, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declares as follows:

The labor movement of America demands for all of our people the full benefit of the life-giving forces of our marvelous civilization through constantly increasing wages and improvement of working conditions and through a reasonable and proper reduction in the hours of work.

The labor movement of America demands for the wage-earners and for all who serve usefully in any capacity, a sound and just economic basis for life and freedom in the fullest meaning of those terms.

The labor movement of America has ever had high regard for the development of the ethical and the spiritual in life, realizing the right of all humanity to partake freely of the great satisfaction that comes to enrich life as a result.

The labor movement of our country, recognizing the fact that all freedom and all higher development of life, rest upon first providing assurance of the essentials of existence, has first demanded economic justice as a basis for all other things.

But the labor movement has always taught that the material is essential to something higher, and that the inspiration of our movement has its deepest springs in something above and beyond the material.

The labor movement strives for economic improvement with unrelenting zeal and fidelity because economic improvement is the first fundamental requisite; but it holds out to all mankind a flaming torch lighting the way to a greater fullness of life, to complete realization of the finer and nobler aspirations of the mind and soul.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AND ACTION AS BASIC FUNCTIONS

A. Trade Union is Basic Institution of Labor Movement.
(Taken from Report of Executive Council, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1914, pp. 15-16)

The principle that has directed and controlled all policies of the A. F. of L. is that organization in industry is the key to the betterment of conditions for the workers. Organization for the purpose of making united effort to remedy wrongs that affect the work and the lives of all has been the instrumentality that has brought cheer and hope and betterment to the workers.

Economic organization gives power—power to protect the workers against industrial exploitation and injustice; power to secure for them opportunities for development; power to secure for them things that will make life sane, whole, and good; power to bring into their lives something of beauty and pleasure; power to secure political representation for their ideals and recognition of their demands in legislation. The influence of organization in industry and its infinite number of contacts with other organizations constitute an intricate force that is the most powerful single force in society. The power of Labor is commensurate with its unity, solidarity and federation.

Economic organization is that upon which we justly concentrate our thought and effort. When economic organization is achieved, every other good thing becomes possible for the workers. But because of the great power attaching to this agency, many other movements or forces seek to destroy or to use them. For this reason the A. F. of L. early adopted the policy of avoiding entangling alliances. This policy has been consistently pursued during all these

years. But with great success and increased growth comes additional power. Many and tempting will be the avenues of activity and the associations open to the A. F. of L. Increasingly difficult will it be to distinguish the things which are most important and vital for the continuous development of the Federation—the things which make for life rather than mere power. Ever must be held up the policy, the organization—federation, that is the thing.

B. Workers Must Bring About Own Salvation.

(Taken from President Gompers' Report, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1900, p. 17; 1898; p. 15)

The American Federation of Labor has not indulged in any exhaustive or elaborate platform of abstract principles. It recognizes that the best organization for the working people is an organization of the working people, by working people, and that is the trade union; to assure and insure the right of the trade unions to self-government; and yet to insist that the toilers in each union shall appreciate the interdependence of organizations, and by the federation of all to present a solid phalanx of the workers of America.

Our economic and social life presents to us new and complex questions. The century now opening before us requires the keenest appreciation on the part of all, that upon ourselves and upon our unity in sentiment, conviction and action lies the safety of the future manhood, womanhood and childhood of the country. There have been no rights accorded unless they have been conquered through the unity, the wisdom and the willingness, of those who have acquired them, to bear burdens and make sacrifices. What is true of the past is true of the present and will be equally true in the future. To organize the yet unorganized workers; to build up national and international unions; to make our organizations daily more effective to defend the toilers; to protect and promote their interests in every way; to assure beyond all peradventure the vantage ground already gained; to progress continually in abolishing that which the workers, their wives and their children have long borne, and the achievement of that justice to which we are entitled. The success of these, as typified by our great cause, now and for all time to come, rests entirely upon the working class itself. It may be true that others, by their

sympathetic action, may aid us in our movement; but we resent the claims or the promises of any and all that the amelioration in the condition of the wage-workers, or their disenthralment from every form of injustice, depends upon any other power than that of the working people themselves, by and through their trade union effort.

Our movement is of the wage-earning class, recognizing that class interests, that class advancement, that class progress is best made by working class trade union action. That we shall receive the cooperation of others, goes without saying; but it is only as the trade unions grow in numbers, in power and in intelligence, shall we disenthral the minds and freedom of action of sympathizers with our cause, who gladly await the hour to place the best sheaves of their laurels of learning at the feet of the advancing hosts of organized labor.

C. The Voluntary Basis of Trade Unionism.

(Taken from President Gompers' address, to the El Paso Convention, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1924, pp. 4-6. Reprinted also as Workers Education Pamphlet Series No. 4 of the Workers Education Bureau of America)

Forty-four years ago in the city of Pittsburgh a group of labor men met to bring to fruition an effort extending over a period of years—to organize a national labor movement. We were a group of labor men with little experience in a national labor movement. We had to find our problems and devise ways of meeting them. There was little to guide us. The majority of us had a standing in our local trade unions and in our national trade organizations but we had not joined hands with the representatives of other trade organizations in an effort to make the labor movement a force in the determination of national policies.

The National Labor Union like previous similar labor efforts, had organized a labor party and then passed out of existence. Industrialism growing out of constantly increasing invention of machinery, application of mechanical power which necessitated the factory system and the substitution of new materials for old, was making the need of economic protection for workers, increasingly imperative. Those of us who had opportunity to observe tendencies felt

the responsibility to our fellow workers to make the effort for protection and for future progress.

There were but few paid union officials in those days, but after the day's work was done, those with the vision of spirit and service gave the evening hours and holidays to the cause of betterment of their fellow workers. More frequently than not the office of trade union official was carried in his pocket and its code of laws in his heart and mind; benefits, and even strike assistance, were irregular and undependable, if provided at all; union dues and union rules varied from city to city, if not from shop to shop. The present trade union movement was then in the making—aye, had hardly begun.

But the men who constituted that Pittsburgh labor congress in 1881 were as brainy and resourceful a group as ever gathered; they were men who know the joy and inspiration of service that entailed sacrifice. Service in the early trade union movement meant to become a marked man whom employers were reluctant to hire and who was discharged first; whose family must forego the comforts and often the necessities of life; upon whose children the handicap attaching to the name of a "labor agitator" fell.

These very conditions of service in the labor movement assured the cause selected men of unusual qualities. They were men of self respect and character.

When the Pittsburgh labor congress set itself to the task of planning an organization, it studied the British Trade Union Congress, drafted a similar plan and organized the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. In our optimism we thought that we had settled our economic problems and that we needed only to consider the field of labor legislation. We elected as our executive, a legislative committee, but provided no salaries, no permanent office, no full-time representatives. From year to year we met, accomplishing a little but keeping alive the thoughts of national organization and calling attention to the needs of the workers, until there came a crucial contest in which the existence of the trade unions was threatened. Then the trade unions sent out the warnings of danger and sent a small group to carry by word of mouth to rouse labor. Again in 1886 a national labor conference was called. This time it was designated a trade union con-

ference to be composed of representatives of trade unions and to consider trade union problems. The deliberations of that conference resulted in the formation of our present American Federation of Labor with which the old Federation of Trades and Labor Unions was merged. This new Federation recognized only the trade union card as a credential and proposed to deal primarily with economic problems. It was an organization that had no power or authority except of a voluntary character. It was a voluntary coming together of unions with common needs and common aims. That feeling of mutuality has been a stronger bond of union than could be welded by any autocratic authority. Guided by voluntary principles our Federation has grown from a weakling into the strongest, best organized labor movement of all the world.

So long as we have held fast to voluntary principles and have been actuated and inspired by the spirit of service, we have sustained our forward progress and we have made our labor movement something to be respected and accorded a place in the councils of our Republic. Where we have blundered into trying to force a policy or a decision, even though wise and right, we have impeded, if not interrupted, the realization of our aims.

But the very success of our organization has brought additional and serious dangers. Office in the labor movement now offers opportunity for something in addition to service—it offers opportunity for the selfseeker who sees an instrumentality for personal advancement both in the economic and in the political field. There are serious problems confronting us. Wisdom and conviction are necessary to wise decisions.

Men and women of our American trade union movement, I feel that I have earned the right to talk plainly with you. As the only delegate to that first Pittsburgh convention who has stayed with the problems of our movement through to the present hour, as one who with clean hands and with singleness of purpose has tried to serve the labor movement honorably and in a spirit of consecration to the cause of humanity, I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty—the principles of voluntarism. No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible.

There is no way whereby our labor movement may be assured sustained progress in determining its policies and its plans other than sincere democratic deliberation until a unanimous decision is reached. This may seem a cumbrous, slow method to the impatient, but the impatient are more concerned for immediate triumph than for the education of constructive development.

Our movement has found these voluntary principles the secure foundation upon which the workers of all America make united effort, for our voluntary co-operation has ignored lines of political division separating the United States and Canada, because economically we are a unit. Because we refused to be bound by arbitrary restrictions or expedients we have fostered cohesive forces which give play to the finer and more constructive faculties of the peoples of both countries. We are eager to join in an international labor movement based upon the same principles of voluntarism. We are willing to co-operate if we can be assured a basis that will enable us to maintain our integrity—a condition necessary for our own virility and continued progress.

Understanding, patience, high-minded service, the compelling power of voluntarism have in America made what was but a rope of sand, a united, purposeful, integrated organization, potent for human welfare, material and spiritual. I have been with this movement since the beginning, for I have been given the privilege of service that has been accorded but few. Nor would that privilege have continued open to me had not service to the cause been my guiding purpose.

Events of recent months made me keenly aware that the time is not far distant when I must lay down my trust for others to carry forward. When one comes to close grips with the eternal things, there comes a new sense of relative values and the less worthy things lose significance. As I review the events of my sixty years of contact with the labor movement and as I survey the problems of today and study the opportunities of the future, I want to say to you, men and women of the American labor movement, do not reject the cornerstone upon which labor's structure has been builded—but base your all upon voluntary principles and illumine your every problem by consecrated devotion to

that highest of all purposes—human well being in the fullest, widest, deepest sense.

We have tried and proved these principles in economic, political, social and international relations. They have been tried and not found wanting. Where we have tried other ways, we have failed.

A very striking illustration is emphasized by circumstances connected with the present location of our convention. For years force and selfish interests dominated relations across this international border, but the labor movement brought to an acute and difficult situation the spirit of patience and the desire of service and a transformation has been brought which gives us courage and conviction for wider application of the same principles. As we move upward to higher levels, a wider vision of service and responsibility will unfold itself. Let us keep the faith. There is no other way.

CHAPTER III

THE FUTURE OF TRADE UNION ACTION

A. Labor's Program of Reconstruction Aims to Secure a Better and Brighter Day.

(Taken from "American Federation of Labor Reconstruction Program"—Pamphlet, and in *American Federationist*, February, 1919, p. 129ff.)

The world war has forced all free peoples to a fuller and deeper realization of the menace to civilization contained in autocratic control of the activities and destinies of mankind.

It has caused a world wide determination to overthrow and eradicate all autocratic institutions, so that a full measure of freedom and justice can be established between man and man and nation and nation.

It has awakened more fully the consciousness that the principles of democracy should regulate the relationship of men in all their activities.

It has opened the doors of opportunity through which more sound and progressive policies may enter.

New conceptions of human liberty, justice and opportunity are to be applied.

The American Federation of Labor, the one organization representing Labor in America, conscious that its responsibilities are now greater than before, presents a program for the guidance of Labor, based upon experience and formulated with a full consciousness of the principles and policies which have successfully guided American trade unionism in the past.

1. WORKERS SHOULD INSIST ON DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY

Two codes of rules and regulations affect the workers; the law upon the statute books, and the rules within industry.

The first determines their relationship as citizens to all other citizens and to property.

The second largely determines the relationship of employer and employe, the terms of employment, the conditions of labor, and the rules and regulations affecting the workers as employes. The first is secured through the application of the methods of democracy in the enactment of legislation, and is based upon the principle that the laws which govern a free people should exist only with their consent.

The second, except where effective trade unionism exists, is established by the arbitrary or autocratic whim, desire or opinion of the employer and is based upon the principle that industry and commerce can not be successfully conducted unless the employer exercises the unquestioned right to establish such rules, regulations and provisions affecting the employes as self-interest prompts.

Both forms of law vitally affect the workers' opportunities in life and determine their standard of living. The rules, regulations and conditions within industry in many instances affect them more than legislative enactments. It is, therefore, essential that the workers should have a voice in determining the laws within industry and commerce which affect them, equivalent to the voice which they have as citizens in determining the legislative enactments which shall govern them.

It is as inconceivable that the workers as free citizens should remain under autocratically made law within industry and commerce as it is that the nation could remain a democracy while certain individuals or groups exercise autocratic powers.

It is, therefore, essential that the workers everywhere should insist upon their right to organize into trade unions, and that effective legislation should be enacted which would make it a criminal offense for any employer to interfere with or hamper the exercise of this right or to interfere with the legitimate activities of trade unions.

2. UNEMPLOYMENT IS DUE TO UNDERCONSUMPTION

Political economy of the old school conceived by doctrinaires, was based upon unsound and false doctrines, and has since been used to blindfold, deceive and defeat the

workers' demands for adequate wages, better living and working conditions, and a just share of the fruits of their labor.

We hold strictly to the trade union philosophy and its developed political economy based upon demonstrated facts.

Unemployment is due to underconsumption. Underconsumption is caused by low or insufficient wages.

Just wages will prevent industrial stagnation and lessen periodical unemployment.

Give the workers just wages and their consuming capacity is correspondingly increased. A man's ability to consume is controlled by the wages received. Just wages will create a market at home which will far surpass any market that may exist elsewhere and will lessen unemployment.

The employment of idle workmen on public work will not permanently remove the cause of unemployment. It is an expedient at best.

There is no basis in fact for the claim that the so-called law of supply and demand is natural in its operations and impossible of control or regulation.

The trade union movement has maintained standards, wages, hours and life in periods of industrial depression and idleness. These in themselves are a refutation of the declared immutability of the law of supply and demand.

There is in fact no such condition as an iron law of wages based upon a natural law of supply and demand. Conditions in commerce and industry, methods of production, storing of commodities, regulation of the volume of production, banking systems, the flow and direction of enterprise influenced by combinations and trusts have effectively destroyed the theory of a natural law of supply and demand as had been formulated by doctrinaire economists.

3. ONLY THROUGH TRADE UNION ACTION CAN WORKERS OBTAIN FAIR WAGES

There are no means whereby the workers can obtain and maintain fair wages except through trade union effort. Therefore, economic organization is paramount to all their other activities.

Organization of the workers leads to better wages, fewer working hours, improved working conditions; it de-

velops independence, manhood and character; it fosters tolerance and real justice and makes for a constantly growing better economic, social and political life for the burden-bearing masses.

In countries where wages are best, the greatest progress has been made in economic, social and political advancement in science, art, literature, education, and in the wealth of the people generally. All low wage-paying countries contrasted with America is proof for this statement.

The American standard of life must be maintained and improved. The value of wages is determined by the purchasing power of the dollar. There is no such thing as good wages when the cost of living in decency and comfort equals or exceeds the wages received. There must be no reduction in wages; in many instances wages must be increased.

The workers of the nation demand a living wage for all wage-earners, skilled or unskilled—a wage which will enable the worker and his family to live in health and comfort, provide a competence for illness and old age, and afford to all the opportunity of cultivating the best that is within mankind.

4. REASONABLE HOURS OF LABOR INDISPENSABLE TO WELL BEING OF WORKERS

Reasonable hours of labor promote the economic and social well-being of the toiling masses. Their attainment should be one of Labor's principal and essential activities. The shorter workday and a shorter work week make for a constantly growing, higher and better standard of productivity, health, longevity, morals and citizenship.

The right of Labor to fix its hours of work must not be abrogated, abridged or interfered with.

The day's working time should be limited to not more than eight hours, with overtime prohibited, except under the most extraordinary emergencies. The week's working time should be limited to not more than five and one-half days.

5. WOMEN AS WAGE-EARNERS

Women should receive the same pay as men for equal work performed. Women workers must not be permitted to perform tasks disproportionate to their physical strength

or which tend to impair their potential motherhood and prevent the continuation of a nation of strong, healthy, sturdy and intelligent men and women.

6. CHILD LABOR MUST BE REGULATED

The children constitute the nation's most valuable asset. The full responsibility of the government should be recognized by such measures as will protect the health of every child at birth and during its immature years.

It must be one of the chief functions of the nation through effective legislation to put an immediate end to the exploitation of children under sixteen years of age.

State legislatures should protect children of immature years by prohibiting their employment, for gain, under sixteen years of age and restricting the employment of children of less than eighteen years of age to not more than twenty hours within any one week and with not less than twenty hours at school during the same period.

7. STATUS OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

The fixing of wages, hours and conditions of labor for public employes by legislation hampers the necessary exercise of organization and collective bargaining.

Public employes must not be denied the right of organization, free activities and collective bargaining and must not be limited in the exercise of their rights as citizens.

8. COOPERATION PROTECTS THE WAGE-EARNER FROM THE PROFITEER

To attain the greatest possible development of civilization, it is essential, among other things, that the people should never delegate to others those activities and responsibilities which they are capable of assuming for themselves. Democracy can function best with the least interference by the state compatible with due protection to the rights of all citizens.

There are many problems arising from production, transportation and distribution, which would be readily solved by applying the methods of cooperation. Unnecessary middlemen who exact a tax from the community without rendering any useful service can be eliminated.

The farmers through cooperative dairies, canneries,

packing houses, grain elevators, distributing houses, and other cooperative enterprises, can secure higher prices for their products and yet place these in the consumer's hands at lower prices than would otherwise be paid. There is an almost limitless field for the consumers in which to establish cooperative buying and selling, and in this most necessary development the trade unionists should take an immediate and active part.

Trade unions secure fair wages. Cooperation protects the wage-earner from the profiteer.

Participation in these cooperative agencies must of necessity prepare the mass of the people to participate more effectively in the solution of the industrial, commercial, social and political problems which continually arise.

9. THE PEOPLE'S FINAL VOICE IN LEGISLATION

It is manifestly evident that a people are not self-governing unless they enjoy the unquestioned power to determine the form and substance of the laws which shall govern them. Self-government can not adequately function if there exists within the nation a superior power or authority which can finally determine what legislation enacted by the people, or their duly elected representatives, shall be placed upon the statute books and what shall be declared null and void.

An insuperable obstacle to self-government in the United States exists in the power which has been gradually assumed by the Supreme Court of the Federal and State governments, to declare legislation null and void upon the ground that, in the court's opinion, it is unconstitutional.

It is essential that the people, acting directly or through Congress or state legislatures, should have final authority in determining which laws shall be enacted. Adequate steps must be taken, therefore, which will provide that in the event of a supreme court declaring an act of Congress or of a state legislature unconstitutional and the people acting directly or through Congress or a state legislature should reenact the measure, it shall then become the law without being subject to annulment by any court.

10. POLITICAL POLICY

In the political efforts, arising from the workers' necessity to secure legislation covering those conditions and pro-

visions of life not subject to collective bargaining with employers, organized labor has followed two methods; one by organizing political parties, the other by the determination to place in public office representatives from their ranks; to elect those who favor and champion the legislation desired and to defeat those whose policy is opposed to Labor's legislative demands, regardless of partisan politics.

The disastrous experience of organized labor in America with political parties of its own, amply justified the American Federation of Labor's non-partisan political policy. The results secured by labor parties in other countries never have been such as to warrant any deviation from this position. The rules and regulations of trade unionism should not be extended so that the action of a majority could force a minority to vote for or give financial support to any political candidate or party to whom they are opposed. Trade union activities can not receive the undivided attention of members and officers if the exigencies, burdens and responsibilities of a political party are bound up with their economic and industrial organizations.

The experiences and results attained through the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor cover a generation. They indicate that through its application the workers of America have secured a much larger measure of fundamental legislation, establishing their rights, safeguarding their interests, protecting their welfare and opening the doors of opportunity than have been secured by the workers of any other country.

The vital legislation now required can be more readily secured through education of the public mind and the appeal to its conscience, supplemented by energetic independent political activity on the part of trade unionists, than by any other method. This is and will continue to be the political policy of the American Federation of Labor if the lessons which Labor has learned in the bitter but practical school of experience are to be respected and applied.

11. GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP MUST NOT DENY WORKERS' RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

Public and semi-public utilities should be owned, operated or regulated by the government in the interest of the public.

Whatever final disposition shall be made of the railways of the country in ownership, management or regulation, we insist upon the right of the workers to organize for their common and mutual protection and the full exercise of the normal activities which come with organization. Any attempt at the denial by governmental authority of the rights of the workers to organize, to petition, to representation and to collective bargaining, or the denial of the exercise of their political rights is repugnant to the fundamental principles of free citizenship in a republic and is destructive of their best interest and welfare.

The government should own and operate all wharves and docks connected with public harbors which are used for commerce or transportation.

The American Merchant Marine should be encouraged and developed under governmental control and so manned as to insure successful operation and protect in full the beneficent laws now on the statute books for the rights and welfare of seamen. The seamen must be accorded the same rights and privileges rightfully exercised by the workers in all other employments, public and private.

12. WATERWAYS AND WATER POWER

The lack of a practical development of our waterways and the inadequate extension of canals have seriously handicapped water traffic and created unnecessarily high cost for transportation. In many instances it has established artificial restrictions which have worked to the serious injury of communities, owing to the schemes of those controlling a monopoly of land transportation. Our navigable rivers and our great inland lakes should be connected with the sea by an adequate system of canals, so that inland production can be more effectively fostered, the costs of transportation reduced, the private monopoly of transportation overcome and imports and exports shipped at lower costs.

The nation is possessed of enormous water power. Legislation should be enacted providing that the governments, federal and state, should own, develop and operate all water power over which they have jurisdiction. The power thus generated should be supplied to all citizens at rates based upon cost. The water power of the nation,

created by nature, must not be permitted to pass into private hands for private exploitation.

13. REGULATION OF LAND OWNERSHIP

Agriculture and stock-raising are essential to national safety and well-being. The history of all countries, at all times, indicates that the conditions which create a tenant class of agriculturists work increasing injury to the tillers of the soil. While increasing the price of the product to the consumer these conditions at the same time develop a class of large land owners who contribute little, if anything, to the welfare of the community but who exact a continually increasing share of the wealth produced by the tenant. The private ownership of large tracts of usable land is not conducive to the best interests of a democratic people.

Legislation should be enacted placing a graduated tax upon all usable lands above the acreage which is cultivated by the owner. This should include provisions through which the tenant farmer, or others, may purchase land upon the lowest rate of interest and most favorable terms consistent with safety, and so safeguarded by governmental supervision and regulation as to give the fullest and freest opportunity for the development of land-owning agriculturists.

Special assistance should be given in the direction of allotments of lands and the establishment of homes on the public domain.

Establishment of government experimental farms, measures for stock raising-instruction, the irrigation of arid lands and reclamation of swamp and cut-over lands should be undertaken upon a larger scale under direction of the Federal government.

Municipalities and states should be empowered to acquire lands for cultivation or the erection of residential buildings which they may use or dispose of under equitable terms.

14. FEDERAL AND STATE REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS

The creation by legislative enactment of corporations, without sufficient definition of the powers and scope of activities conferred upon them and without provisions for their adequate supervision, regulation and control by the creative body, has led to the development of far-reaching abuses

which have seriously affected commerce, industry and the masses of the people through their influence upon social, industrial, commercial and political development. Legislation is required which will so limit, define and regulate the powers, privileges and activities of corporations that their methods can not become detrimental to the welfare of the people. It is, therefore, essential that legislation should provide for the federal licensing of all corporations organized for profit. Furthermore, federal supervision and control should include the increasing of capital stock and the incurring of bonded indebtedness with the provision that the books of all corporations shall be open at all times to federal examiners.

15. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION

The very life and perpetuity of free and democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage and association. We insist that all restrictions of freedom of speech, press, public assembly, association and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner.

16. WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Workmen's Compensation laws should be amended to provide more adequately for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases. To assure that the insurance fund derived from commerce and industry will be paid in full to injured workers, state insurance must supplant, and prohibit the existence of, employers' liability insurance operated for profit.

17. RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

Americanization of those coming from foreign lands, as well as our standards of education and living, are vitally affected by the volume and character of the immigration.

It is essential that additional legislation regulating immigration should be enacted based upon two fundamental propositions, namely, that the flow of immigration must not at any time exceed the nation's ability to assimilate and Americanize the foreigners coming to our shores, and that

at no time shall immigration be permitted when there exists an abnormal degree of unemployment.

18. TAXATION SHOULD PROVIDE FOR FULL CONTRIBUTION FROM WEALTH

One of the nation's most valuable assets is the initiative, energetic, constructive and inventive genius of its people. These qualities when properly applied should be fostered and protected instead of being hampered by legislation, for they constitute an invaluable element of progress and material development. Taxation should, therefore, rest as lightly as possible upon constructive enterprise. Taxation should provide for full contribution from wealth by a tax upon profits which will not discourage industrial or commercial enterprise. There should be provided a progressive increase in taxes upon incomes, inheritances, and upon land values of such a nature as to render it unprofitable to hold land without putting it to use, to afford a transition to greater economic quality and to supply means of liquidating the national indebtedness growing out of the war.

19. EDUCATION FOR ALL THE PEOPLE

It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress.

Education must not be for a few but for all our people. The welfare of the republic demands that public education should be elevated to the highest degree possible. The government should exercise advisory supervision over public education and where necessary maintain adequate public education through subsidies without giving to the government power to hamper or interfere with the free development of public education by the several states. It is essential that our system of public education should offer the wage-earners' children the opportunity for the fullest possible development. To attain this end state colleges and universities should be developed.

It is also important that the industrial education which is being fostered and developed should have for its purpose not so much training for efficiency in industry as training

for life in an industrial society. A full understanding must be had of those principles and activities that are the foundation of all productive efforts. Children should not only become familiar with tools and materials, but they should also receive a thorough knowledge of the principles of human control, of force and matter underlying our industrial relations and sciences. The danger that certain commercial and industrial interests may dominate the character of education must be averted by insisting that the workers shall have equal representation on all boards of education or committees having control over vocational studies and training.

To elevate and advance the interests of the teaching profession and to promote popular and democratic education, the right of the teachers to organize and to affiliate with the movement of the organized workers must be recognized.

20. PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED

Essentials in industry and commerce are employe and employer, labor and capital. No one questions the right of organized capital to supply capital to employers. No one should question the right of organized labor to furnish workers. Private employment agencies abridge this right of organized labor.

Where federal, state and municipal employment agencies are maintained they should operate under the supervision of joint committees of trade unionists and employers, equally represented.

Private employment agencies operated for profit should not be permitted to exist.

21. WHOLESOME HOUSING AT REASONABLE COST

Child life, the workers' physical condition and public health demand that the wage-earner and his family shall be given a full opportunity to live under wholesome conditions. It is not only necessary that there shall be sanitary and appropriate houses to live in but that a sufficient number of dwellings shall be available to free the people from high rents and overcrowding.

The ownership of homes, free from the grasp of ex-

exploitive and speculative interests, will make for more efficient workers, more contented families, and better citizens. The government should, therefore, inaugurate a plan to build model homes and establish a system of credits whereby the workers may borrow money at a low rate of interest and under favorable terms to build their own homes. Credit should also be extended to voluntary non-profit making housing and joint tenancy associations. States and municipalities should be freed from the restrictions preventing their undertaking proper housing projects and should be permitted to engage in other necessary enterprises relating thereto. The erection and maintenance of dwellings where migratory workers may find lodging and nourishing food during periods of unemployment should be encouraged and supported by municipalities.

22. MILITARISM AND STANDING ARMIES THREATEN CIVIL LIBERTY

The trade union movement is unalterably and emphatically opposed to "militarism" or a large standing army. "Militarism," is a system fostered and developed by tyrants in the hope of supporting their arbitrary authority. It is utilized by those whose selfish ambitions for power and worldly glory lead them to invade and subdue other peoples and nations, to destroy their liberties, to acquire their wealth and to fasten the yoke of bondage upon them. The trade union movement is convinced by the experience of mankind that "militarism" brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. The finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under "militarism" a deceptive patriotism is established in the people's minds, where men believe that there is nobility of spirit and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty or the maintenance of institutions which are inimical to human progress and democracy. "Militarism" is the application of arbitrary and irresponsible forces as opposed to reason and justice. Resistance to injustice and tyranny is that virile quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The free institutions of our country and the liberties won by its founders would have been impossible had they been unwilling to take arms and if necessary die in the defense of their liberties. Only a people willing to maintain their

rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions.

Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry arms. A voluntary citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take its place, a large standing army. To the latter we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish the evils of "militarism." Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished. Our experience has been that even this citizen soldiery, the militia of our states, has given cause at times for grave apprehension. Their ranks have not always been free from undesirable elements, particularly the tools of corporations involved in industrial disputes. During industrial disputes the militia has at times been called upon to support the authority of those who through selfish interests desired to enforce martial law while the courts were open and the civil authorities competent to maintain supremacy of civil law. We insist that the militia of our several states should be wholly organized and controlled by democratic principles so that this voluntary force of soldiery may never be diverted from its true purpose and used to jeopardize or infringe upon the rights and liberties of our people. The right to bear arms is a fundamental principle of our government, a principle accepted at all times by free people as essential to the maintenance of their liberties and institutions. We demand that this right shall remain inviolate.

23. LABOR MUST BE FREE AND UNHAMPERED

No element in our nation is more vitally concerned with the problems of making for a permanent peace between all nations than the working people. The opportunities now before us are without precedent. It is of paramount importance that Labor shall be free and unhampered in shaping the principles and agencies affecting the wage-earners' condition of life and work.

By the light that has been given to it the American Federation of Labor has attracted to its fold over three millions of wage-earners and its sphere of influence and

helpfulness is growing by leaps and bounds. By having followed safe and sound fundamental principles and policies, founded on freedom, justice and democracy, the American trade union movement has achieved successes of an inestimable value to the masses of toilers of our country. By adhering to these principles and policies we can meet all problems of readjustment, however grave in importance and difficult of solution, with a feeling of assurance that our efforts will be rewarded by a still greater success than that achieved in the past.

Given the whole-hearted support of all men and women of labor our organized labor movement with its constructive program, its love for freedom, justice and democracy will prove the most potent factor in protecting, safeguarding and promoting the general welfare of the great mass of our people during this trying period of reconstruction and all times thereafter.

The American Federation of Labor has attained its present position of dignity and splendid influence because of its adherence to one common cause and purpose; that purpose is to protect the rights and interests of the masses of the workers and to secure for them a better and a brighter day. Let us therefore strive on and on to bring into our organizations the yet unorganized. Let us concentrate our efforts to organize all the forces of wage-earners. Let the nation hear the united demand from the laboring voice. Now is the time for the workers of America to come to the stand of their unions and to organize as thoroughly and completely and compactly as is possible. Let each worker bear in mind the words of Longfellow:

"In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!"

B. Industrial Democracy is Labor's Goal.

(Report of Executive Council, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1923, p. 31)

We feel that the hour has struck for a pronouncement of the aims of labor that shall more nearly express the full implications of trade unionism than has yet been under-

taken in these annual reports. This we have had in mind in the preparation of previous reports, but we have preferred to follow the established practice of the American trade union movement, which is to allow expression of policy and program to proceed naturally from the life and needs of the people, giving voice from time to time only to such proposals and formulations as have been finally shaped out of experiences.

Experience continues and is recorded as it unfolds. The recording of experience is perhaps the greatest achievement of all history. We know what the past has given us because the past has given us its records.

The record of human experience since the fateful days of 1914 is more intense with the story of rapid development than any other similar period in history. Developments of the most climactic character have raced upon each other's heels.

1. THE NEED FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Trade unionism, as an integral and ever functioning part of human society, has had its full share of tremendous experiences and it has not failed to observe the experiences of all other functional elements in society.

What we have observed is that the period ending with the beginning of the world war found political democracy in its fullest state of development, while the close of that period of overwhelming upheaval marked the opening of the period of intelligent demand and living need for industrial democracy. The close of the war marked for us a turning point in human relations and threw forth in bold relief the inadequacy of existing forms and institutions. Henceforth trade unionism has a larger message and a larger function in society. Henceforth the movement for the organization of the workers into trade unions has a deeper meaning than the mere organization of groups for the advancement of group interests, however vital that function may yet remain.

Henceforth the organization of the workers into trade unions must mean the conscious organization of one of the most vital functional elements for enlightened participation in a democracy of industry whose purpose must be the extension of freedom, the enfranchisement of the producer

as such, the rescue of industry from chaos, profiteering and purely individual whim, including individual incapacity, and the rescue of industry also from the domination of incompetent political bodies.

The largest freedom of action, the freest play for individual initiative and genius in industry can not be had under the shadow of constant incompetent political interference, meddlesomeness and restriction.

Through the muddling conflict of groups who still find it impossible to come together in cooperation we must look to a future that must have its foundation upon cooperation and collaboration. The threat of state invasion of industrial life is real. Powerful groups of earnest and sincere persons constantly seek the extension of state suzerainty over purely industrial fields. Such ignorant encroachments as the Esch-Cummins act, the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations and the Colorado Industrial Commission act, each a blundering gesture of government acting under the spur of organized propaganda or of political appetite for power, are examples of what all industry has to fear. The continuing clamor for extension of state regulatory powers under the guise of reform and deliverance from evil, can but lead into greater confusion and more hopeless entanglements. Trade unionism must lead the way for true progress, even at the cost of being branded as reactionary by those who do but little save propound formulas based upon utopian thought and devoid of the benefit of experience and any cognizance of our fundamental social structure, our industrial life or our national characteristics. We advocate organization of all wage-earners and of all useful and productive elements.

2. NATIONAL LIFE IS BECOMING MORE INDUSTRIAL

We feel that we shall not labor the point if we review what we have repeatedly said and what all students know, that our national life today is becoming more and more industrial and that the decisions that most vitally affect the intimate daily lives of our people are the decisions that are made in industry, in the workshops and factories, in the mines and mills, in the commercial establishments, on the railroads and in the counting rooms. The decisions that caused more than five million workers to be for months

without work were not decisions of congress. The decisions that quickened the wheels and brought men and women back into service were not decisions of congress.

Labor now participates more fully in the decisions that shape human life than ever before and more fully in America than in any other nation on earth; but our participation must be gradually brought to completion. The purpose of this is not only the commanding of better wages and better conditions of work, vital as those are and have been. The purpose that now unfolds is broader and nobler and filled with deeper meaning.

We have fought our way through the preliminaries, fitting the workers for their greater rôle by means of the opportunities that have come with the establishment of standards of life and wages befitting American workmen.

For the future, industry must become something of which we have a national consciousness. It must cease to be a disconnected collection of groups, like states without a union. The future demands an American industry, in which it shall be possible for all to give of their best through the orderly processes of democratic, representative organization. The ruthless drive of purely individual aim and ambition has given America tremendous industrial giants. Great abuse has accompanied great achievement. But what is frequently overlooked is the fact that the ambition to build has been the driving force behind our most remarkable strides. The abuses, terrible and costly as they have been, have been largely coincidental.

The ambition to build must be saved; the abuses must be eradicated by means of organization befitting the state of our development and the demands of our time. In no other way can industry continue that growth which is required to satisfy our ever growing demand for commodities and avoid submersion in a wave of blighting political domination.

3. INDUSTRY MUST REGULATE ITSELF THROUGH COOPERATIVE ENDEAVOR

The functional elements in our national life must fit themselves to work out their problems, eradicate their abuses and furnish America with an ever increasing flood of commodities, both necessary and pleasure giving. Industry

alone has the competence and it must demonstrate that competence through organization. The organized functional elements in industry will find easy of solution those problems to which politicians now turn their attention in futility. Industry must organize to govern itself, to impose upon itself tasks and rules and to bring order into its own house. Industry must bring order to itself constructively, or it will have an order thrust upon it which would be demoralizing if not fatal. Our people can not live and thrive under the regime of bureaucracy that threatens unless industry solves its own problems.

It was the abuses attendant upon an unregulated natural industrial impulse that brought upon our country that legislative monstrosity known as the Sherman anti-trust law. It is a mistaken zeal on the part of political government, a zeal often encouraged by powers that misinterpret their own rôle in our industrial life, that burdens us with the anachronism known as the injunction. It is a combination of industry's own neglect and of government's effort to function where industry for the moment fails or seems to fail that gives us a growing number of boards, commissions and tribunals to add their weight to the burden of industry.

Industry, organized as we urge it must be organized, will begin in truth an era of service, rational, natural development and productivity unmatched by past achievement or fancy.

It is not the mission of industrial groups to clash and struggle against each other. Such struggles are the signs and signals of dawning comprehension, the birth pangs of an industrial order attempting through painful experience to find itself and to discover its proper functioning. The true rôle of industrial groups, however, is to come together, to legislate in peace, to find the way forward in collaboration, to give of their best for the satisfaction of human needs. There must come to industry the orderly functioning that we have been able to develop in our political life. We must find the way to the development of an industrial franchise comparable to our political franchise. There must be developed a sense of responsibility and justice and orderliness.

Labor stands ready for participation in this tremendous development. It has long offered conference with all its

implications as a substitute for conflict, regarding the folding of arms in idleness only as the last resort in failure of negotiations, signalizing the glaring fact that the industrial destinies of the country have thus far been finally in the hands of one group in the nation's industrial organization.

4. MISUSE OF CREDIT POWER AND OPERATION FOR PROFIT HINDER INDUSTRY

Too frequently the group that controls investment or credit controls the policies of industry. When this occurs industry finds itself guided by the desires of those who seek returns on investment, with little or no regard for any other factor. Modern industry, as we have repeatedly declared and as is conceded by all who understand, functions largely with the assistance of credit. But credit, which is the life blood of productive industry, is continuously purloined for purely exploiting, profiteering, speculative and wasteful purposes. It is not infrequently employed for the purpose of withholding commodities from their proper channels in order that inordinate and criminal manipulation and profiteering may take place. Every perversion of the proper functions of industry eventually strikes back at industry and leaves its damaging mark.

Industry, as it becomes more intelligently and thoroughly organized and coordinated, as cooperative relations are extended, will in self-defense purge itself of the wrongful, wasteful, uneconomical, anti-social and criminal misuse of credit power. Credit power is one of the most vital powers in the modern world and it arises out of the very existence of the people themselves, being but a token, or guarantee of their ability to use and consume. This power, which arises out of the people, out of the fact that they live and must use commodities, must be stripped of its abuses and administered in accordance with the demands of a normal, rational industrial life in the interests of service and production and not solely or mainly in the interests of profits and perversions of our industrial system. The operation of industry for the dominant purpose of producing private profit has led to a multitude of abuses. It has produced all of the evils of autocracy because it is autocratic. Every factor that enters into the sustenance or operation of industry must be safeguarded and its just re-

ward assured, but there must be an end to final control by any single factor. We have had and must continue to have until democracy finds its way into industry, abuses for which all producers and all consumers have had to pay through profiteering and privation.

The end of such a state of affairs must come at no distant time, or political bureaucracy will gain the ascendancy. And we can not do other than regard such an eventuality as the final mark of incompetency to manage an industrial civilization. Industry must save itself. Industry must find itself. Industry must organize for service, for constructive effort, for orderly continuity, for justice to all who participate. It must bring itself to a realization of its mission and to that end it must organize and come together in deliberative bodies where the full wisdom and experience of all may contribute to final decisions. Much the same lessons that we have learned in our political life—among them the sense of order—must be learned and given effect in our industrial life. Fact must take the place of opinion and selfish interest. To function must be the object and democratic participation of all who give service must be the mechanism that make this possible. Industry must realize that it exists to give service to a nation and not to a single master, or to a syndicate of stockholders. We must have an American industrial life, an American industrial order, not a warring group of units, each seeking to be a law unto itself, the while inviting the interference of those whose competence is at best an unknown factor.

5. AGRICULTURE MUST ADOPT SIMILAR METHODS

While we have no wish to offer unasked advice to those who occupy any other field in our productive life, we feel that we may suggest that agriculture, the great life-giving twin of industry, must find its way through to orderliness and justice by adoption of substantially the same methods which we advocate for industry. We fail to find any opportunity for difference in principle.

During the past year the relations between industrial workers and productive agriculture have grown tremendously; understanding has been developed everywhere between those who give productive effort in these two great fields.

It is our hope that the farmers will continue their work of organization and that we may have and give assistance in pushing forward the program upon which we believe depends our future national well-being and safety.

6. NEED OF TIMES IS CRUSADE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

We have sought to set forth a great goal—the goal of America's wage-earners—and the salvation of the masses of our people and of our inspiring industrial supremacy. We covet life and the fuller development of life and we therefore demand in behalf of the masses of our people the only course that can make possible the satisfaction of our ambition, the achievement of our ideal and the preservation of our essential liberties. American industry dare not confess incompetence. We call upon all who have eyes to see to join us in a great crusade for industrial democracy as the means to a greater national and individual life and as the means to the preservation of the genius of our people. Industry is the bedrock of modern civilization. We must bring order through organization into that life or suffer it to fall under the dominion of a state bureaucracy which must be destructive alike of freedom for the individual and of progress for industry as a whole.

We commit ourselves to greater efforts in the organization of all workers, we urge upon all useful persons the imperative need of organization, and finally, the coming together in working bodies of all organizations through representatives who shall speak for organic groupings. We have long been on the road to this end. We urge no new formula, no new philosophy; we urge only a great consciousness of purpose and a definite aim on the part of all toward its more rapid fulfillment, because the needs of the time make it imperative.

C. The Scope of Trade Union Activity is Limitless.

(An article by George W. Perkins in *Cigar Makers' Official Journal*, reprinted in *United Mine Workers' Journal*, June 15, 1919, p. 8)

There is no law limiting the scope of trade unions; neither is there any artificial barrier to check their usefulness, their growth, and development. Their functions and beneficence are as broad as the universe, and as protective

as human ingenuity can devise. With growing intelligence and the elimination of narrow selfishness, the trade unions can fulfill a mission overshadowing the best and noblest traits of human endeavor and character in the world's history.

The scope of the trade unions is developing with the growth of organization on a permanent basis; the keystone to the arch of permanency is the protective and benevolent features. What we need is a wider scope, rising above petty selfishness and the apprehension of timid minds. A more perfect organization of labor on a trade union basis is the most stupendous work of modern times; it has no parallel in history. Prejudice, ignorance, selfishness, and cowardice are some of the obstacles in the path of progress which have to be removed.

The scope of the trade union, as constituted at present, embraces many valuable factors:

It is a protective organization; it raises wages and prevents reductions; it equalizes wages for equal work performed; it endeavors to secure a living for all. It establishes a minimum wage for common work; it restricts cut-throat and unfair competition.

It is an insurance society. The cooperative insurance in cases of death and total disability is superior and less costly than the rate charged by ordinary insurance companies, with a class of high-salaried officials and agents absorbing excessive premiums. It is mutual, safe, and economical.

It is a savings bank. The trade union enables the worker with limited means, and not overburdened with thrift and the habit of saving for a rainy day, to deposit weekly small sums of money in the shape of dues and assessments, which are returned to him when most needed—when sick, out of work, travelling, etc. The deposits being scattered over a large territory, make them absolutely safe; the amount lost by the failure of a few banks does not exceed a fraction of one per cent. The deposits draw interest for the benefit of all members.

It is a legislative body. It plans, adopts, and amends a constitution and local by-laws without any interference and advice from outside parties. Mistakes can be rectified speedily whenever necessary. There is no conflict of inter-

ests to any appreciable extent; local differences can be adjusted in the interest of the general welfare, viewed from a broad standpoint.

It is a direct legislation league. The initiative and referendum, which are the cardinal features in the structure of the constitution, enable a small number of unions to propose amendments and substitutions. They are submitted to a referendum vote, with or without any discussion, as the case may be, and approved or rejected. This form of legislation is simple, direct, and effective.

It is a school of economics. The Manchester school of political economy, from Adam Smith to the present time, has evolved a system of speculative philosophy not based on concrete cases and facts. Numerous books have been issued on the functions of capital, the value of labor, the rate of wages, and profits, the laws of supply and demand, of exchange, finance, etc. The trade union has, in the attempt to improve the condition of the worker, exposed these economic fallacies. It is developing a new school, which is pure and simple, and based on facts and scientific investigation.

It is a debating club. The business of the union, be it of a routine character or of a more complicated nature, involving questions of vital import, requires discussion and deliberation. Points of order are raised which require careful attention and decision; the motions under debate are amended and substituted. Parliamentary skill is brought into play; the natural abilities of the members as debaters and parliamentarians are developed by constant practice. The progress made in this direction in the course of years is of vital influence in the affairs of the nation.

It is a trial court. The rules of the union require, for the management of its affairs, the enforcement of discipline and obedience to the laws enacted by the majority. Punishment as a deterrent, in the shape of fines, suspension, and expulsion from membership, form a part of the laws. The right of trial and defense is accorded to every member, with the privilege of appeal from one court to another, reaching a final decision in the highest court by a referendum vote of the members.

It is an industrial democracy. The object of the trade union is primarily industrial. It aims to elevate the eco-

conomic conditions which affect the welfare of the workers upon a higher standard of usefulness and efficiency. The ideal is equity based on a full measure of justice, compatible with the general welfare. From these objects it can not depart without destroying the foundation upon which its structure is reared.

D. American Labor in Peace, War and International Relations.

(Taken from an article by Samuel Gompers, *The Shoe Workers' Journal*, June, 1924)

War—the American Federation of Labor has been more interested than America generally in our foreign relations. Long before the European war it was a leader in every constructive pacifist movement and it has maintained that position during the European war and since.

American Labor has always recognized that war is not a cause but a result—one of the greatest evils accompanying human evolution but closely associated with and rising out of other evils. In this respect the position of American labor is in the most fundamental way different from that of European labor. European labor is now on record as being opposed even to defensive war and as being in favor of an international revolutionary strike in case of any menace of war. This proposed course of action, to be sure, is only an empty threat, but it has turned the eyes of European labor in a negative and futile direction in international matters.

Refusing to participate in The Hague Peace Conference called by the International Federation of Trade Unions for December 10, 1922 (the conference which finally fixed European labor in its present course), the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declared:

"The American Federation of Labor is devoted to the cause of peace. It has attempted from the earliest days of its existence to promote that cause. The American Federation of Labor, however, believes in peace with freedom and is not willing to lay down any condition which will make impossible resistance to the aggressions of tyrannical autocracy and to any other force which may seek to undermine and destroy freedom."

Peace with freedom and justice—that is the position

of the American Federation of Labor. As the writer has declared:

"The American labor movement never advocated peace at any price. It never encouraged nor gave support to any movement of peace at any price. While it recognizes that peace is essential for normal, progressive development it steadfastly refused to advocate peace at the sacrifice of the ideals of freedom and justice."

Not only is it the *right* of the nation attacked to defend itself but it is its *duty* to the cause of human freedom generally. In what is doubtless its most important pronouncement on this subject, that of March 12, 1917, made just before America entered the war, American labor declared:

"Our labor movement distrusts and protests against militarism, because it knows that militarism represents privilege and is the tool of special interests, exploiters and despots. But while it opposes militarism, it holds that it is the duty of a nation to defend itself against injustice and invasion."

A Constructive Policy of Peace—After America entered the war in 1917, the American Federation of Labor redoubled the attention it had given towards a constructive program for permanent peace—though the foundations of such a program had been laid several years before the war. In developing this program, Labor's fundamental principles were again brought to view and more clearly developed. The declaration of the convention of 1917 favored:

"The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations."

Here is reasserted in strong form the principle that peace is desirable and obtainable only when based upon justice, together with the principles (1) that the combination of the nations in a covenant for peace can be held together only by actual or practical cooperation, and (2) that to be effective for peace it must consist not of all peoples but of "free peoples." It must be noted that this is one of the earliest uses by anybody of the word "covenant," with its profound connotations, perhaps the first important use:

"The 1918 convention, held before the close of the war, asserted that 'no permanent peace can be made nor should be made until democracy supplants autocracy and that a League of Nations is established for the purpose of maintaining a just peace and for the protection of small nations.'"

Here are the principles (1) that permanent peace can not be secure on any other foundation than that of the League of Nations, and (2) that even with a League peace can not be secured among nations autocratically governed.

Other statements of American labor go still deeper into fundamentals. That of 1916, a year before our entrance into the war, declared:

"We believe that through permanent institutions, mediation, conciliation, and by directing forces and conditions as they develop, the causes of wars and wars themselves may be prevented."

Here is the all important principle that war can not be removed without removing the causes of war. The pure and simple pacifist is utterly repudiated; not sheer hate (which is not, after all, an attribute of any great people), not the mere fact of huge armaments cause wars, but deep-seated "forces and conditions" which must be dealt with, not once and for all time, by some pacifist panacea, but "as they develop." In other words, wars are due to real and concrete causes and not merely to passion and prejudice or to professional war-makers. Professional war-makers exist and are dangerous; American labor has done its full part in fighting them. But were there no deep-seated conflicts of interest and ambition between nations they would not be able to do much harm. And the same is true of the prejudice and passions created or kept alive by the propagandas of aggressive nationalism; they flourish only in the soil of conflicting interests.

On December 13, 1919, over a year after the end of the war, the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods issued one of the most important manifestos in the history of the American labor movement, in which they declared:

"We feel that our nation can not with honor and humanity maintain a policy of isolation and disinterestedness from the distress and suffering of the peoples of Europe.

Even if the necessity of the peoples of Europe did not have a compelling appeal, the interrelated economic interests of the world would prevent our limiting our attention solely to this hemisphere."

This is a full recognition of the fundamental importance of international economic interests and of the prime necessity of confronting and dealing with them. It is largely in this economic field that "genuine and practical cooperation" is required.

In 1921, the convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously endorsed the following proposition:

"The cause of disarmament and international peace can be promoted by creating and stimulating a public sentiment that will not tolerate waste of life and by establishing international relations, understanding, and agencies that will constitute insuperable barriers to policies of force and destruction."

Here we have the three fundamentals in real organization to promote peace. First, "understandings" as to the grave differences between nations that constantly arise. Second, effective "agencies" for bringing about such understandings and putting them into effect. And third, the actual establishment of "international relations" or international cooperation, which alone can act as an effective and continuous counter force against continually arising conflicts of interest.

Even before the end of the war, in 1918, the A. F. of L. had recognized the peace problem as a constructive one of the organization of international relations and had traced the chief cause of international anarchy and aggression to nations "seeking outlet for unemployed energy and excess production." The declaration was as follows:

"International anarchy creates the opportunity for aggression on the part of strong, resourceful nations seeking an outlet for unemployed energy and excess of production. Where there are no established agencies or methods for dealing with such aggressors, militarism manifests itself and can be eliminated only when the field of international relations is justly organized."

The American Federation of Labor here deliberately passes over one of the most fallacious causes ordinarily assigned for wars, the supposed need for the placing of a

surplus population—Labor knowing full well that a surplus population can usually emigrate and that the rate of increase of population is a matter of human control. The real cause is other—as stated—and the remedy for “resourceful nation seeking outlet” by aggression is obvious, namely, that those nations be made to see that they can not obtain an outlet in such a way, that the other nations will not permit it, that it does not pay—a situation which a powerful and self-assertive nation can be made to understand only by a League of Nations with the possibility of the use of military or economic power against aggressors in the background.

The League of Nations—American labor does not endorse anybody else’s League of Nations. It was one of the originators of the proposal. As early as 1887, the American Federation of Labor declared for international arbitration. By 1913, that is before the war, it again took the stand that “the future seems to assure some world federation.” It is necessary to stop here and explain to the non-labor union public that by “federation” the American Federation of Labor means the very reverse of amalgamation or fusion—the two opposing conceptions having been thoroughly fought out among the unions themselves in the course of the evolution of the Federation. In its conception “federation” allows not only for full but for absolute “autonomy.”

In the “American Federationist” of November, 1914, the editor pointed out that no one should be deluded into thinking “that international political organizations will supplant the national state.” The American labor movement, in other words, is not addicted to revolutionary European internationalism in any form—nor is there any tendency whatever in that direction, all such tendencies in this country being confined either to a handful of unions not yet Americanized or to a few Socialist sects entirely dominated by non-labor “intellectuals” and importing their ideas frankly and openly from Europe.

American Labor’s conception of the League of Nations from the first was not that of a super-sovereignty or a super-state, but of “a voluntary union of nations, a league for peace, to adjust disputes and difficulties and to take the

initiative in constructive efforts to direct and facilitate world progress in accord with highest concepts."

By the time the 1919 convention of the American Federation of Labor had assembled the Versailles Conference had completed the draft of the Treaty of Peace, including the covenant of the League of Nations, with its labor charter, and had submitted it to the governments of the various nations for ratification.

In its report to the convention of that year the Executive Council of the Federation gave its unqualified endorsement to the League of Nations, not with the idea that it made war impossible, but because it "provides the best machinery yet devised to prevent war." The Council said:

"The covenant of the League of Nations . . . must meet with the unqualified approval and support of the American working people. It is not a perfect document and perfection is not claimed for it. It does, however, mark the nearest approach to perfection that has ever been reached in the international affairs of mankind. It provides the best machinery for the prevention of war.

The 1919 convention of the American Federation of Labor by the emphatic vote of 29,909 to 420 endorsed the League of Nations as the "best procedure yet devised for the prevention of war." In the following convention at Montreal in 1920, this position was reaffirmed by a vote so nearly unanimous that the request for a roll call did not secure the 24 delegates required out of more than 500 present.

At the Montreal convention, the Federation made it clear that in advocating America's entrance into the League of Nations it does not contemplate any surrender of American autonomy:

"We can not surrender our democracy and freedom, our political rights involving self-government, to any foreign country or combination of foreign countries. Neither can we nor should we surrender our rights to determine our own policy and to fix our nation's standards on the economic field of human endeavor and achievement." (Report of the Committee on International Relations.)

It is of the utmost importance that the American Federation of Labor in these conventions endorsed not only the League of Nations but the Treaty of Versailles as a whole.

The joint meeting of the railway brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor on December 13, 1919, declared: "If the Senate shall fail to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, our nation may be isolated from other countries of the world which at some time might be pitted against us."

It may be recalled that there was little opposition to the Treaty of Versailles during these years and that the opposition was directed mainly against the League of Nations part of it—and not even against all of the League of Nations covenant but only against certain articles, such as article X.

The writer has pointed out (February 2, 1923):

"Though the Senate of the United States has refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty and therefore the United States is not legally bound by its terms, we can not escape the moral responsibility which devolves upon us of recognizing that it was that treaty which ended the war and that the Armistice was merely a stoppage of actual military conflict."

American Labor remains on record as favoring the Versailles Treaty. Even the revolutionary pacifism of the European labor movement did not dare to oppose the Versailles Treaty at the only time when opposition might have counted. Belgian labor voted unanimously in favor of it. There were less than one-half dozen votes in the entire British Parliament against it; and neither was there any demonstrative or reasoned absenteeism. In France a minority of the Socialists voted against the treaty while the majority abstained from voting with a statement which was rather friendly than hostile. This was the action of Entente labor—with which American labor was then associated—at the time when the treaty was actually at stake.

Internationalism—There is widespread misrepresentation of the position of American labor on internationalism owing to the bitter hostility of the Socialist intellectuals in all countries to the American movement, an opposition which, strange to say, has influenced not only liberal but conservative circles—even in America. The position of the American Federation of Labor is widely misrepresented as to all subjects, but especially as to international questions. The confusion is made worse by the fact that the reactionary and conservative enemies of the workers gain

a special advantage from misstatements from sources which claim to be friendly to labor.

This systematic and organized misrepresentation has travelled so far that it is ensconced in libraries, in institutions of learning and occasionally even in such places as the international labor office, which American labor and the writer did so much to help to create. An important leading article in the *International Labor Review* (June, 1922) published by that office, is quoted below—as illustrating, not the most ignorant and hostile criticism, but the more intelligent, and as summarizing the sort of misunderstanding that has reached high quarters and quarters which undoubtedly think they are fair and friendly. This article, by Professor John R. Commons of Wisconsin University, states:

“In exchange for government support the American Federation of Labor mobilized labor sentiment to support the war and foreign policy of the government. In doing so, they isolated themselves from the labor groups of allied countries. The Federation was not represented at the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in September, 1917, though President Gompers did attend the following year. Irrespective of the war, the American Federation of Labor policy of national self-sufficiency and isolation, a product of local conditions and movements, was further emphasized by the withdrawal of the American Federation of Labor from the International Federation of Trade Unions.”

American labor has never declared in any way for a policy of “national self-sufficiency and isolation.” Its opposition to Socialist internationalism has been opposition to the forces of destruction—and has been based upon the belief that revolutionary internationalism obstructs and retards the genuine, evolutionary and constructive internationalism which alone can carry us gradually towards “a federation of the world.” The American Federation of Labor has never “isolated itself” from the labor movements of other countries, especially not by its support of the war—for the very simple reason, now so quickly forgotten, that the labor movements of the other belligerents, with the sole exception of Italy, by overwhelming majorities also supported the war. (The present position of a very large part of Italian labor which has been supporting the man who

was leading Socialist advocate of Italian entrance into the war, Mussolini—even at the time when that man was a dictator—indicates that perhaps Italian labor was no exception.)

American labor separated from the International Federation of Trade Unions only when the latter refused to rescind (1) its revolutionary Socialism and (2) its abrogation of the autonomy of its constituent national federations. The Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions has not only declared for Socialism, for the international control of national labor organizations, for an international strike even against defensive war, and for close cooperation with the revolutionary Socialist Internationale, but in its official organ it has announced that it is working for "world revolution." What American labor thinks about this is summarized in my testimony before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, January 3-4, 1919:

"All the achievements of the democratic revolutions of the past in France, America and England are ignored or perverted. It is held that there is precisely the same need for revolutions in those countries as there was in Russia and in Germany when the czar and kaiser were thrown out. There never was such a thing as a Declaration of Independence or a French declaration of the rights of man. The universal suffrage of France, England and the United State is ignored as if it had never existed. The growing power of labor in America as well as in France and England, is implicitly denied. The assumption is that labor and the masses generally are in the same position in the world's great democracies today as they were under the kaiser and the czar.

"If this is not treason to democracy and treason to internationalism then we would better take the word 'treason' out of the dictionary."

The break of American labor with revolutionary pacifism is as absolute as its break with revolutionary labor. The break may be brought out by contrasting the attitudes of the doctrinaire pacifist and of American labor as to our past wars. In attacking the existing war expenditures of the United States, as of other countries, the pacifist fanatics denounce the sums expended on our Civil and the European war as bitterly as they do the sums being expended

for possible future wars (even if defensive). In fact they have brought the European labor movement around to a complete repudiation of the part it played in the European war. To the extremists' attack on these past war debts, the writer, expressing the spirit of American labor, has replied:

"Most of the American war indebtedness is the result of the Civil War and the World War. That is an indebtedness which true Americans are willing to assume. Those are debts which we pay for the privilege of having a nation and a civilization. Those are debts incurred gladly, to be paid willingly. The American labor movement has no patience with those who would deny or regret those debts. If they are large, we gained something large when they were incurred. We gained those things for which real men and women always have stood ready to pay the all-sacrificing price.

↖ "There is something too craven for words about those who snarl about the burden of the price of freedom."

E. Pan-American Relations.

(Report of Executive Council A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1924, pp. 73-4)

Pan-American relations have continued harmonious and helpful during the year. Through our affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor we have been able to be of assistance to the oppressed workers of other countries in the Western Hemisphere, and to cement the fraternal relations between the organized workers of the various countries.

Our friendly relations with the workers of Mexico have been materially helpful to the wage-earners of both countries. In connection with the single problem of migration back and forth across our southern border, the friendship of the two labor movements has been a distinct advantage on both sides of the line. Where governmental diplomacy alone might easily provoke distrust and friction, the understanding possessed by the workers on both sides of the line and their confidence in each other's integrity have resulted and will, we are sure, continue to result helpfully.

Our movement is at present not affiliated with any other

international organization and we can not refrain from expressing the thought that it is just as important that we should preserve this bond and develop its helpful possibilities as that we should have any other possible international affiliation, desirable as such other affiliation may be.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor, which has its headquarters in the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, D. C., and of which the president of the American Federation of Labor is also president, has during the year been helpful in many instances in Latin American countries. Good will and understanding between the American people and the people of many other countries have been promoted and strengthened. This is true in the case of Panama, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Colombia, Nicaragua, Mexico and some other countries. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has several times interceded with the American State Department in behalf of better understanding and in an effort to solve misunderstanding and disputes.

With some show of reason it may be suggested that the problems of foreign relations are only remotely related to our great trade union problems, but in reality our movement is most intimately affected by our foreign relations. Every condition of labor, political and economic, in Latin America is of concern to us and has a bearing on our own domestic problems.

It is reported to us, for example, that much of the machinery in important industries in Mexico is so antiquated that it can not be operated in such a manner as to provide a living wage for the workers. As a last desperate method of escape from such intolerable conditions the Mexican workers have resolved to desert such industries and already ten thousand have deserted the Mexican textile industry to find employment either in other industries or on the land. Our own wage-earners can not escape the consequences of such a condition and they can not shirk their legitimate responsibility in connection with the resulting problems.

Still another element enters into the situation. The organized labor movements of Latin America will somewhere find affiliation with an international movement. If

they can not find it with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, supported by the American Federation of Labor, they will seek and find it elsewhere, and we shall have in all Latin America the threat of European dominion—a threat which constantly looms on the horizon and which has thus far been held ineffective because of the friendship, influence and fraternal relations which the American Federation of Labor offers.

The agents of radical and revolutionary European organizations have been and are at work seeking to destroy among Latin American workers their confidence in the American Federation of Labor and its constructive democratic principles and policies. They have made little if any headway, but if the American Federation of Labor were to withdraw, or even to diminish its interest and activity they would find a fertile field. The result of the domination of European radical and revolutionary philosophies among the labor movements of Latin America can only be imagined, but that it would be disastrous must be conceded.

In continuing our helpfulness in this direction we are holding the line for democracy throughout the New World and it is in no sense exaggerating to say that the effect of this great effort on future world history will be tremendous.

We have faith in our principles. We know that democracy offers the one hope for all workers and we feel in duty bound to carry that faith and that hope to all who will listen. We recommend a continuance of our affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor and of all possible helpful activity in every opportunity for rendering assistance to the workers of Latin America and in every opportunity for developing understanding between the labor movements, the governments and peoples of all American Republics.

PART II. ORGANIZED LABOR AND SOCIETY

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE PUBLIC

A. Who is the Public?

(Taken from "Organized Labor and the Public," by H. J. Conway, in the *International Molders' Journal*, November 1922, p. 610)

We hear much at this time about public welfare, a great deal is said about the suffering of the general public when business stagnates. Who, pray, is that public but you and me, your fellow workers and mine? The two million or more wage-earners who have been obliged to lay down their tools and strike in protests against wage reductions represent not less than seven or eight million more, their families and dependents, all of whom are vitally interested in the ultimate result of the struggles through which they are now passing.

On the other hand, when it comes to speaking of minorities who are seeking to control the destinies of the millions, how about the railway executives, the coal operators, the textile manufacturers who have so arrogantly asserted that their mandates must be observed? Think you that they are as deeply interested in the welfare of the public over whom they now profess much concern as they are in the amount of the dividends that the reduction in wages will guarantee?

The railway shopmen have been accused of repudiating the authority of the railway labor board, but very little is published regarding the violations of the rulings of that board by the railroads. One large eastern road at the present time is contesting a ruling of the board, and when defeated in the court appealed their case to a higher court,

but we have not as yet seen them accused in the public press of mutiny or betrayal of the nation's interests; those are terms which the organized minority reserve for their attacks against organized labor, that body of toilers who represent millions and millions of the citizens of our country, whose destinies with those of their children depend upon the settlement of questions now under dispute and that are being so bitterly contested.

Organized labor is not deceived, it knows that the fight now being waged is for its very existence, the wage question is but one of the issues involved but is made paramount in the appeals in behalf of the long suffering public.

Organized capital has learned to express itself more smoothly, to disguise the iron hand with the velvet glove, than in the earlier days of strife in the coal fields when "Divine Right" Baer blatantly expressed the same opinion that now directs and controls their activities in the never-to-be-forgotten words, "*The Public be damned!*" Now organized capital very cleverly expresses deep concern over the welfare of the public and professes itself anxious to spare the public from the unpleasant consequences of the industrial chaos for which they are responsible.

Who, pray, is the public but you and me, your fellow workers and mine, the fifteen or more millions directly represented by the American trade-unionists and their families, as well as all others whose success depends upon the prosperity and well-being of the men and women in the ranks of the daily wage-earners?

Organized labor against the welfare of the United States? Think again, and it will not be hard to arrive at the conclusion that the welfare of organized capital is the chief consideration at this time of those who are seeking to so cleverly camouflage their movements by appealing for the defeat of the wage-earners in the name of the public.

B. The Public Has Not Only Rights But Also Obligations.

(Taken from an address by Frank Morrison, *Metal Trades Department Proceedings*, 1921, p. 3)

You have heard a great deal said in regard to the rights of the public. They say the public has rights and in the case of the railroad employes that the public will not stand for a strike because if there is a strike we will be unable to

get milk to feed the babies and coal to keep the homes warm. No stronger, no more potent argument could be made to the great public than to hold up before them the thought that if the railroad men struck or if the shopmen struck the railroads would stop running, that our children would suffer for the lack of food and coal so when there is a threatened strike the railroad workers know they must face the probable antagonism of the public brought about by the statements made by those that are opposed to the efforts of the workers to secure improved conditions.

Now the labor movement recognizes the fact that the public has rights, but you know that in these articles in the magazines and papers when you read them you seem to feel that the five million organized workers with their families are no part of this public. They are not counted as such, notwithstanding they represent at least twenty-five million of the one hundred and ten million. I hold we do recognize that the public has rights but nobody has a right, except as a duty, and if the public has a right, which I deny it has, to say to the railroad men, "You must not strike because if you do we will be inconvenienced" then in a time of unemployment like this it should be the duty of the public to see that every home and every child had coal and milk and food.

C. The Public Should Interest Itself in the Rights of the Workers.

(Taken from "The Public vs. the Striker," by John M. O'Keefe, in *International Molders' Journal*, January, 1922, pp. 27-28)

There are over 42,000,000 men and women in this country working for the public when the wheels of industry are running smoothly, and whenever these workers notify the public that their wages are too small to buy the needs of their household and they desire an increase in their wages, the public, without any conscientious pondering in the matter, immediately declare themselves against such an unjust claim, and the public's Press, for the good of the public eye, to see and to read, decides this claim is a crime, then the workers ultimately declare the only means they can resort to to force their requisition is to cease working for the public and become Strikers.

Grasping this fine opportunity for news the big dailies get busy and start to lash the Strikers through the blatant columns of their unreliable news sheets for the inconvenience and suffering they have brought upon the public.

The public never consider or try to remedy the poor ventilation, light and other sanitary inconveniences of the dingy workshop that the Striker was forced to labor in for his daily support of life.

When the seasons of the year change, the Striker, unlike the public, can not enjoy the superb climate of Florida in winter, or visit the rock bound coast of Maine in summer.

The only change in the seasons that the Striker is influenced by are the busy and slack seasons of his trade.

Under our Federal laws the Striker has as much privilege as the public, but these laws can not execute themselves without agents, and these agents are bought by the money of the public, to crush and break the morale of the Striker.

In all mankind, rich and poor, learned and illiterate, is engendered a natural affection for mammon, and the principal object of mammonism is money, money is the sweetener of human toil, the substitute for coercion, the reconciler between capital and labor, a great contributor to man's happiness during his pilgrimage on this mundane sphere, and if used in a right, economic manner, produces happiness; if otherwise, it becomes an evil. The main cause of every worker becoming a Striker has been money, and the principal owners of this currency are the lucrative public, as money produces for them all the human comforts of mind and body, but owing to the scarcity of money with the Striker, he is continually struggling against sickness, poverty and distress.

The workers receive less wages today than they did in 1912, when we consider what they are forced to pay for their house rent, wearing apparel and other necessities for their human existence.

It is almost impossible for all the workers in this country to live in easy circumstances, as some are forced to toil harder than others, and therefore receive very little pay for their human exertions.

Injustice has been the fundamental cause for every

strike, and not until this vicious principle is entirely obliterated will any human mind in creation be able to solve the difficulty between the public and the Striker.

If the public had more respect for the rights of the workers and would throw into the scrap heap all their injustice, and convert themselves into a more free, kind and generous body, and not shut their ears, close their eyes, or turn their backs with indifference to the sane and sensible pleadings of our labor leaders, then justice might reign and the word Striker never be uttered again by the human tongue.

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE FARMERS

- A. The Workers and the Farmers Have a Common Interest.
(An article, "Unity in a Great Common Cause," reprinted from the *American Federationist* in the *Shoe Workers' Journal*, August, 1920, p. 1ff.)

Organized labor extends its fraternal hand to the farmers of our country in the effort to protect all the wealth producers and to make common cause for justice to both. Those who till the soil of our country and those who perform the work in the industries of our country have so much in common that their program and their course of action must, of necessity, have much in common. The paramount needs of the farmer and the city wage worker are identical. The great concern of every producer of wealth is to receive in return for his labor an adequate reward. The true measure of the reward received is in the purchasing power of that reward. If, through unfair exploitation such as we are witnessing on every hand today, the farmers and the workers are deprived of a just return for their endeavor, a grievance is created. The workers of America on the farm and in the city have such a grievance today.

The wage-earner of the city has no desire to see the farmer treated unfairly and he feels certain that the farmer has no desire to see him treated unfairly. That they do misunderstand each other at times is not to be denied, but that their fundamental interests lie in the same direction, that they are bound to the same great cause, that they are devoted to kindred ideals, is one of the great verities.

Opposition to the right of the wage worker of the city to cease work has been voiced by some who undertook to speak in the name of the farmers. The objection has been

that when the city wage worker ceases work production stops and the country suffers. The representatives of the farmers who have taken this view make the statement that the farmer must continue to work despite such grievances as he may hold.

The wage workers of the city contend that the right to cease work is as vital to the workers of the farms as to the workers of cities and they declare that it is a right which can not be relinquished without undermining the very freedom of our country.

Labor contends that the right to strike is the right to cease giving service under unsatisfactory conditions. Every one who contributes useful service has the right to have a voice in determining conditions under which that service shall be rendered and if he deems the conditions unfair, he has the right to withdraw his service until the conditions are in agreement with his desires.

This right is fundamental to progress. An abridgment of it means a return to industrial autocracy and an abandonment of the progress that has been made.

The right to the free exercise of the right to cease giving service is no less vital to the farmer than to the wage worker of the city. As farmers have organized themselves for their mutual advancement they have availed themselves of the right to cease giving service.

Strikes of farmers have taken place in a number of instances within the last few years. Exercise of the right to cease giving service manifests itself in agricultural life in two directions—one of these is typified by the strike some months ago of the milk producers of the state of New York. The other is typified by the common action of farmers in temporarily decreasing acreage in order to avoid unsatisfactory returns. In this practice, the farmers in the case of the crop for the present year were advised by the United States Department of Agriculture to decrease their acreage of wheat in order that the reward for effort expended might not fall below what was deemed a proper return.

There are certain fundamental principles, the establishment of which constitutes liberty and the abrogation of which constitutes slavery. The right to cease work is but one of these principles.

The American labor movement is devoted to the main-

tenance of every principle which makes for freedom, which makes for the enlargement of human life, which makes for improvement and progress in every direction and to these things the farmers of our country are equally devoted.

Those who seek to exploit both the wage worker of the city and the farmer naturally seek to make it appear that there are differences of principle in order to create suspicion and antagonism between the farmers and the city workers. In every case where this is done, the point over which it is sought to make an issue is either a point of minor importance or a question of interpretation.

What the enemies of Labor hope for and what the enemies of the farmer hope for is that Labor and the farmers will disagree among themselves, and because of disagreement, weaken their struggle and make it ineffective.

Neither the farmers of America nor the wage workers of America have yet taken a position of opposition to any of the great fundamental principles upon which the Republic is founded and in which its future safety lies.

There is and has been unity upon the great issues. Honest difference of opinion as to methods of achieving progress has existed and will continue to exist. Neither the farmers among themselves nor the workers among themselves find themselves at all times in agreement as to methods. The point that it is important to keep in the foreground and understand thoroughly is that difference in opinion as to methods does not constitute a difference of interest and does not imply antagonism and enmity in the pursuit of a common object.

The American Federation of Labor in waging its present non-partisan political campaign, is waging a campaign not only for workers who hold membership in unions but is waging a campaign for every American who contributes service to the country and to the world.

The principles which the labor movement is supporting in the present campaign are principles which must command the support of every honest man and woman who is solicitous for our future welfare and liberty and who is devoted to the principles upon which our Republic was founded.

It is the endeavor of the labor movement in this campaign to defeat at the polls officials who have proven them-

selves enemies of the people. It is the purpose to support for election those who understand the needs of humanity in our time and who can be trusted to remain true.

If it is desirable that a specific case be discussed, the railroad law known as the Esch-Cummins law will serve as an illustration.

The organized workers of the United States were opposed to the enactment of that law not only as members of trade unions but as citizens of the Republic. They were opposed to it not because it worked a hardship upon members of unions but because it sought to destroy one of the essential principles of freedom. The principles involved in the enactment of that law were principles which are of as great concern to every farmer of the United States as they are to Labor. The freedom of the wage workers can not be undermined without threatening the freedom of everyone. Freedom is not something which can be accorded to one section of our citizenship and denied to another.

It will be found that in every great struggle in which our trade union movement has a vital interest, some great principle is at stake, the safeguarding of which is equally vital to the tillers of the soil.

Labor's struggle is not a selfish struggle. By its very nature it is a struggle for the progress of the masses of our people. Labor can not secure liberties for itself alone nor does it wish to. It can not secure the establishment of principles which apply to itself alone nor does it wish to. It does not struggle to overcome opposition and to break down barriers in order that it alone may continue on to a higher state of existence and a fuller, freer life, because in the very nature of its struggle that is impossible. The farmers and the workers of the cities have a common interest in life and a devotion to common principles.

During the period when the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was in the making, Labor urged the adoption of an amendment by which the organization of Labor, including agricultural and horticultural workers, should be exempt from the provisions of that law made to protect the workers against exploitation by the interests and big business. In every instance, where legislation was under consideration by Congress or its committees the same course was pursued by organized labor. If Labor was not successful in all its

efforts in this direction, it was due to the antagonism of standpat and reactionary Senators and Representatives whose actions were governed by the interests and big business.

The struggle for the success of the common cause has continued and will continue. The expression of the needs of the American people, whether they be farmers or workers in the cities, finds its expression in the present struggle at the ballot box. This expression will be in the terms of men elected and men defeated. Labor is aware of no instance in which the workers of the cities are striving for the election of a candidate inimical to the interests of the workers on the farms and know of no instance where the workers of the city are endeavoring to defeat a candidate who stands for the principles espoused by the men and women of the farms. The mutual understanding of common problems is greater today than ever in our history. It promises well for the future of our country.

CHAPTER VI

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE NON-UNIONIST

A. The Non-union Worker is Helpless and Parasitic.

(Taken from an article, "Without a Spokesman," in *United Mine Workers' Journal*, September, 1921, p. 6)

Unorganized labor is like an irresponsible mob. Without leadership a mob wanders around, hopelessly, aimlessly. Once a mob acquires leadership it ceases to be a mob, but becomes at once an organized movement with a definite purpose, a positive aim and an effective responsibility. There is no one to speak for or in behalf of a mob. Neither is there anyone to speak for or in behalf of unorganized labor. Where there is no organization each individual is left to shift for himself. He is without leadership to protect his interests.

When the individual, unorganized man attempts to deal with his employer, a great employing corporation, he has not the slightest chance in the world to protect his own interests. He engages in an unequal contest that resembles the match between the elephant and the fly. The elephant pays no attention whatever to a single fly, no matter how much it may buzz around and seek to attract the elephant's attention. But the elephant does pay attention when a swarm of flies comes along determined to attract his attention.

The individual, unorganized worker is as helpless as that individual fly.

Unorganized workers could learn an impressive lesson from the fly. They would learn that only through organization can the workers hope to command respect and enforce principles of industrial justice.

That's the excuse for labor unions. That was why

they were organized in the first place. Workers found that they were at a fatal disadvantage in dealing with employers, and they made up their minds that they would not permit that condition to continue. So they banded themselves together in order that they might lift themselves to a level where they could take care of themselves.

Unorganized workers are without a voice in determining the conditions under which they shall labor or the wages that they shall receive. Two alternatives confront them when an employer lays down the terms upon which he will employ them. They can accept his terms or they can do without work. As a matter of principle, one is as bad as the other.

Just so long as the unorganized man permits the employer to fix all of the working conditions just so long does he remain completely under the power of that employer, with no hope of betterment. It is strange that many unorganized workers fail to recognize that fact.

The unorganized worker has everything to gain and nothing to lose by joining a trade union of his craft. He simply breaks the chains that bind him to the will or whim of the employer and steps out upon the broad field of fellowship, companionship and equality. He emerges from his care and finds himself among friends.

Organized labor sets the pace for all who are employed in industry. It fixes the standards of wages and working conditions, insisting and demanding that they shall at least be such as will enable the worker to live and maintain his self-respect. In whatever craft or trade, when the subject of wages and working conditions is under consideration thought immediately turns to the standards established by the union of that trade. In some degree these standards are reflected even among the unorganized workers, so that whatever gains the unorganized man may make is found to be wholly due to the influence of the union upon that particular industry. We find, therefore, that the unorganized worker receives the benefit of every improvement in conditions that is secured by organized labor. Yet he assumes none of the responsibility that accompanies such improvement. He permits his fellow workers to fight his battles for him, and he accepts his share of the fruits of their victory, won by sacrifice and hard work. If there

was no union in his craft he could not gain any of these benefits.

The unorganized worker owes it to the union of his craft to become a member and do his share of the work that is required to accomplish these results. He should not allow someone else to shoulder his burdens and make his fight. Organization means everything to him. It gives him a voice in the affairs of his industry. Through the representatives chosen by him and his fellows he can then present and contend for his rights when it comes to negotiating with his employer.

B. As a Traitor to His Class, the "Scab" Has No Moral Rights.

(Taken from "Has the Non-unionist a Moral Right to Work How, When, and Where He Pleases?" by Frank K. Foster, A. F. of L. Pamphlet, 1922)

If the aim and objects of organized labor are in accord with the best interests of society, if its efforts are commendable in trying to raise and maintain the standard of living, to obtain more wages and shorter hours, better sanitation and safeguards in factories, less overwork among women and children, more mutual helpfulness among the workers—then the non-unionist has no moral right to act as a counteracting agent to these efforts. The whole question thus resolves itself into the issue of the utility of trade unionism as a whole.

The time has long gone by when it was necessary to apologize for the general purpose of trade unionism. There is no mathematical proposition capable of more positive demonstration than is the proposition that trade unionism is a mighty force working, as a whole, for the benefit of the wage-earner. The workingman who sets himself up in opposition to this demonstration, by the very act testifies to his own mental incapacity or moral perverseness.

The trade union says, "In union is strength." The *moral* strike-breaker replies, "In disunion is morality."

The trade union says, with Lincoln, "The brotherhood of labor should be the strongest bond between men." The strike-breaker replies, "The dollar of the boss is stronger."

The trade union says, "Unite that we lift one another

up." The strike-breaker replies, "Trample each other under foot if you can only scramble up yourself."

The trade union says, "We owe each other a duty." The strike-breaker says, "Temporary self-interest is stronger than duty."

If there be such a thing as moral responsibility, it should prevent a man from heaping up the burdens upon the shoulders of those who do the hard work of the world; it should appeal to his sense of chivalry not to interfere with the uplifting of little children; it should debar him from playing the part of the sycophant and mercenary in the greatest struggle of the century in which we live.

Yet the non-unionist who works how, when, and where he pleases, does all these things and more.

If it is to be seriously contended that his acts are moral, then let us laud the sneak thief of the streets, praise the social scavengers who feed on human weaknesses, and canonize the traitor to his country and his God.

When the ruins of one of the oldest castles in Scotland were in process of demolition, it is related that, on a dungeon wall, many feet below the surface of the ground, there was discovered, rendered almost illegible by the hand of time, these words, "nae hope," scratched there by some hopeless victim of old-time despotism and cruelty, who, far from the light of day and possibility of release, left only this pathetic memento to tell his story. Supposing a party of rescue on its way to free this hopeless wretch, what but a fiendish nature would have been capable of seeking to divert its course? In the dungeon of cruel circumstance, of ceaseless toil and deep privation, there are many dwellers today who, were it not for the power of associated effort, could never hope for release.

And yet the strike-breaker plays the part of an ally to those who confine men in the narrow dungeon of unrequited toil; with his mephitic breath he would extinguish the light which shows the way to freedom.

Clothe him, if your heart so moves, with the mantle of his law, adorn him with Philistine approval, but shame on the hypocrisy that seeks to cover his moral obliquity with the stolen garment of righteousness.

CHAPTER VII

WOMEN IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

A. Woman's Long Struggle for Economic and Personal Independence.

(Taken from "Woman's Work, Rights and Progress," in *American Federationist*, July, pp. 624-6)

Of present-day movements one of far-reaching consequence is the woman movement, for it is the effort of part of the human race to rid itself of the traditions, customs, and laws that prevailed when it was regarded as a possession, a thing of more or less value. Among primitive peoples women had a share in the real work of life; as civilization increased customs became more artificial and what Professor Veblen has termed conspicuous consumption became the dominant ideal, it became customary that in order to gratify his own personal vanity the prosperous man should maintain his woman in idleness and lavish upon her extravagances of raiment and entertainment. During the glamour of chivalry, women were enshrouded by an atmosphere of exclusiveness, were protected and shielded from the world, and even the truths of life. Yet while women were accorded a theoretical superiority, they were denied all legal, political, and economic rights. Women were wards of the State, dependents upon father, husband, or relative, to be petted, supported, commanded, but never given the right of individual freedom. They could not own or dispose of property without restrictions nor even control their own children. Custom and law enforced a parasitic life, dependency, restraint of initiative and individuality.

The great masses of women of the less prosperous families have worked, but they have not been accorded the right to choose their work, to make it that for which every energy and purpose of mind and body are conserved—that which represents the highest ideals and reach of the soul.

To how few women of the past centuries has it been granted to be treated as human beings and not merely as creatures of another sex?

The great masses of women have worked. They have performed the drudgery and also pleasanter labor necessary for home-making; they have assisted in whatever kind of toil was performed at the home. They have spun, woven, dyed, sewed—but the reward of their labor was not under their control. They themselves were economic dependents, subject to the will of the head of the household, and in turn were “to be cared for.” As woman’s work was not looked upon as worthy of remuneration, the prevailing ambition has been, and still is, in some cases, release from such work and a life of protected indolence—the parasitic ideal that saps initiative and will-power.

With the invention of machinery which brought about the factory system, manufacturing was taken out of the homes. Where the wages of the man did not suffice for the whole family, the nearly grown boys and girls, the women, and the children were forced to seek work outside the homes in the factories that the combined family funds might be enough to supply the necessities of life. And yet it is an economic fact, easily demonstrable, that in industries where the wives and children toil, the man is often idle because he has been supplanted, or because the aggregate wages of the family are no higher than the wages of the adult man—the husband and father of the family. Women’s work for wages had the stigma of poverty from which respectable men sought to protect their women dependents. It was a fate to be avoided by any expedient, marriage usually. Genteel starvation was infinitely to be preferred to comforts secured from women’s earnings.

With this historic background it is not difficult to understand why in women’s trades low wages, long hours, bad conditions of work have prevailed, and why men have feared the effects of women’s entrance into their trades. To many women remunerative work was but a stepping-stone to something else. There was not that pride in trade work and that sense of necessity that impelled men to organize for their own protection and betterment. Public sentiment and women’s education were not of a nature to create in the individuals an understanding of the nature

and seriousness of work, a conscience sensitive to obligations for the welfare of fellow workers, or a sense of the dignity and necessity of self-help. Girls waiting for the marriage partner to appear, or earning a little pin-money, regarded affiliation with a trade organization as a humiliation and an acknowledgment of permanent association with the trade—a condition which “unsexed” them. Consequently many efforts to solve industrial problems of women came from the outside. According to current theory women and children were unable to care for themselves, and were the special wards of the State. Legislation was thought necessary to secure for them what men had been able to get for themselves through collective action and organization.

On the other hand, the forces that have contributed to the woman movement have been increasing in scope and intensity. Women's education is no longer inferior to that of men, though it was formerly necessary even to defend women's right to education. With trained minds and faculties and with greater ability to do things, it is necessary that women have greater variety and number of opportunities for activity. The popular attitude towards women's work has changed completely. Among the more highly educated and advanced women, work is now a method for showing ability, resourcefulness, for realizing the joy of creation. Furthermore, it is recognized that valuable work or services performed should be amply rewarded. As this wholesome ideal gains favor the old ideal of dependence, leisure, and conspicuous and wasteful consumption wanes. These educated, intelligent, resourceful women are exciting an effective, if often inconspicuous, influence upon modern educational, political, legal, and industrial theories and practices. Their influence is giving form to and crystallizing various issues that have been in a state of nebulous haze. Women themselves have been attacking industrial problems and seeking solutions.

A more wholesome attitude toward work has also developed among women employed at trades and has manifested itself in the most hopeful of all indications of progress—desire and initiative for self-help. Some have discovered the uses of the trade union. A beginning, aye, some progress has been made—great possibilities lie in the future. Educational work must precede permanent organization to

stimulate the long dormant sense of individual powers. The newer educational ideals and sentiment engendered by educated women and the achievements of organized effort among working women are having a perceptible effect.

B. Organize Working Women into Unions.

(Taken from "Workers' Education for Working Woman," by Fannia M. Cohn, in *Shoe Makers' Journal*, September, 1924, pp. 11-12)

The problem of the women employed in our industries, one of the most perplexing problems before us, must be met squarely and with open-mindedness. By dodging it we will never solve it. It is too complicated for an easy-going answer. The first step, and most necessary one, in solving a complicated problem is to admit that it exists.

The immensity of the whole problem is expressed in the following extract from the plan formulated by the conference of representatives of the international unions called by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to consider organization among working women: "The figures of the 1920 census show that there were approximately 3,500,000 women in gainful pursuits engaged in industry while the number of women belonging to Trade Unions was about 200,000."

The industrial revolution which freed the woman who was confined to her home duties and widened her scope of activities was the source of this problem. She penetrated almost every industry, but only in a few industries did she come in as a craftsman. She came there as a worker, subordinate to the men. The working men looked suspiciously upon the invasion of the army of working women into industries upon which they depended for their livelihood. They feared women's competition. Their defense against the new invader was either to shut her out of industry or to give her a subordinate position and allow the employer to exploit her. In this respect men were not far-sighted enough to realize that the problem of the working woman is their problem; that by keeping her out of their unions they did not keep her out of the industry; that this exclusion would never solve the problem.

When the workingman begins to study woman's place in the labor movement and in industry, he will learn facts

about the character and psychology of women which he will have to admit he did not know before. He will also learn that though woman is temporarily in industry, women as a group are permanent. He will learn that it has become an established fact that each time a woman leaves industry three come to take her place. Then he will realize that woman has come without experience as participator in the life of social institutions, but that if women of the present generation are encouraged to accumulate experience they will transmit it to women of the next generation.

The organization of the working women must be approached psychologically and intellectually as well as economically. The working man will soon learn that the active participation of women in the trade union will be of advantage to both sexes and to society as a whole, because women will bring to the trade union their human touch and feminine endurance. Women will bring that freshness, earnestness and optimism which animates the entrance of any new group into a social movement.

Women with their practical minds will soon learn that while the driving force of the labor movement is idealistic, the approach will have to be realistic. Women, too, by studying the labor movement will learn that what is necessary for women is to take advantage of their membership in trade unions and to assert themselves by participating in the activities of the unions, and by urging that an attempt be made to organize the millions of women employed in industry.

Working men and women will learn together that the low wages of working women is the cause of lack of organization among them, and that it has also the effect of frightening men who believe that women's entrance into their industry will tend to lower the standard of living. They will also learn that the old prejudice which influenced men to exclude women from industry on sex grounds is changing to fear of women's inferior position which may tend to lower the standard of living. They will also learn that the conflict existing between men and women workers is in the last analysis an economic problem. It narrows down to a wage problem. Working women will learn that the cry of equal pay for equal work is meaningless unless woman, too, has the power of trade union organization to back it up.

Until now, trade unions have been men's organizations. This is due to the fact that men were the originators and organizers and still are the administrators of workers' organizations. To continue the old outcry of the impossibility of organizing women will not solve this problem. Instead, men and women trade unionists will have to make a joint effort to enlighten the unorganized women on the need of organization by carrying on an educational campaign amongst them and by enlisting the cooperation of men members of the trade unions. To achieve the organization of women it will be necessary to make a study of women in industry, of their length of employment, the conditions under which they work, and most important of all, of their psychology.

C. Ladies' Auxiliaries Entrench Unionism in the Home.
(Taken from "What Should be Our Relations to the Ladies' Auxiliary?" by G. C. McLaughlin, in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, June, 1924, pp. 270-1)

For some time the writer, after following the pages of our Journal, has been of the opinion, that there is one phase or part of our society, organization, industry, craft, or whatever you may wish to call it, that has been neglected. I do not mean by this statement that it has been entirely ignored, because it has not by any means. But there is a subject of most vital importance to the successful progress of the I. A. of M. in the future, to which we must turn our attention in the way of a definite policy; that is, the Women. We have made provisions in our Constitution for the women directly engaged in the craft. This article will not deal with them, but with the wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of the men and boys who carry cards in the Association—the members of the household who do not come in contact with the problems in the shop and who never hear anything about the Union except what is read in the daily press or in some Ladies' Journal, generally far from friendly.

Public opinion is molded in the home. The home is the center of society. It has been the mainspring of civilization. That he might be better fitted to do something for his wife and children has been the all-compelling force that

has driven man from his savage state to the high standard of civilization now enjoyed in the enlightened nations of today. We might well say that the standard of civilization of any nation of today is gauged by what that nation has done for its women—and, of course, in turn for the home. And we wish to call your attention to the fact, indisputable, that the most powerful Labor Organizations in America to-day are those that have systematically formed Auxiliaries to which the wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters of its members may belong. The power now enjoyed by the major Labor Unions can be traced almost directly to their efforts to see to it that their Auxiliaries were kept functioning and their endeavors lent to influence their womenfolk to become members. Too well they knew that a house divided against itself can not stand. If the home was back of the Union—the battle was more than half won.

The I. A. of M. has an Auxiliary. This may be news to some of our readers, but it is a fact nevertheless. And I do not wish to be understood as meaning that we have not realized its value, because I believe that our active members know what the Auxiliary did during the stirring times of 1922. The Auxiliary proved itself wherever it had a local—in a way never to be forgotten.

But appreciation however heartily given will not run an Auxiliary. It must have members, more than that it must have funds. The L. A. to the I. A. of M. is run on very low dues. The per capita to the Grand Lodge is small. The Auxiliary itself is not very old. And the writer believes that the Association should consider seriously a definite policy of support financially to this branch of the Organization. A small amount of the per capita which is paid each month to our General Secretary-Treasurer could be set aside and in turn paid over to the General Secretary-Treasurer of the L. A.

In one year's time this amount would enable the L. A. to keep workers in the field and also supply locals with organizing literature which is badly needed. But more than that it would assure the Auxiliary of a steady source of income on which to a great extent campaigns could be planned, and the membership of this branch could be augmented.

This is not a theory. We have taken this plan from the history of similar movements. The major organizations referred to in the earlier part of this article adopted the same plan. A certain stated amount, very small, was set aside each month from the dues paid to the Grand Lodge for the Auxiliary. This fund was used by the Auxiliary in extending the work of that branch, and look at the power that these unions now possess. Was the money spent in vain? We will not at this time take the space to dwell upon the necessity of the membership urging its women-folk to unite with the L. A. or to urge each local having no Auxiliary to form one. The reasons why each machinists' wife or daughter or woman member of the family should be a member we have in part stated. The advantages which every member of the Auxiliary can enjoy are many, too many to touch upon at this time.

But in closing we ask each member of the I. A. of M. to remember the place that our Association, or any other part of the American Labor Movement, will attain in said movement will be measured by the attention devoted to organizing the women in the homes of our membership. If a machinist's home is back of the I. A. of M. that machinist is going to be a fairly active member. If ten thousand machinists' homes are back of the organization people are going to take notice. And if one hundred thousand machinists' homes get back of the Association many of the problems now confronting the I. A. of M. will almost solve themselves. We spoke of the I. A. of M. adopting a definite policy towards the L. A.—a policy of systematically financing. We might say that the I. A. of M. should consider a policy of carrying the Labor Movement into the homes of its membership through the Ladies' Auxiliary.

BOOK II. THE ORGANIZATION OF
TRADE UNIONS

"Discipline within the Ranks of Labor is One of the Essential Requisites for Success."

(President James O'Connell, in his annual report to the *Metal Trades Department, Proceedings, 1915*)

PART III. GOVERNMENTAL AND STRUCTURAL FORMS AND POLICIES

CHAPTER VIII

NATIONAL, STATE AND CITY FEDERATIONS

A. The American Federation of Labor.

1. A LOOSE FEDERATION COVERING WHOLE FIELD OF INDUSTRY
(Taken from "The American Labor Movement, Its
Makeup, Achievements and Aspirations," by
Samuel Gompers, *A. F. of L. Pamphlet*)

The A. F. of L., as its name implies, is a federation, and not, as it is often mistakenly called, an organization. It is a federation of organizations, each of which has its own government, determined by its own needs and requirements, the result of the experiences of the members of the organization. This right to self-government was recognized in the beginning and has been reaffirmed and adhered to as consistently as possible. The Federation has no powers except those which are authorized and conceded by the organizations which compose it. These powers are enumerated in its written constitution and the definite direction of conventions.

The Federation covers practically the whole field of industry. There are no limitations as to membership. The only requirement, so far as the A. F. of L. is concerned, is that the organization desiring affiliation shall be composed of wage-earners.

2. CONSISTS OF AUTONOMOUS INTERNATIONAL UNIONS
(Taken from "The Story of the A. F. of L.," by
Matthew Woll, syndicated by *International Labor
News Service*, 1923)

These federated trade unions are designated "International" organizations because they include in membership

wage-earners of the United States, Canada and Mexico. Insofar as economic and industrial activities are concerned they are not influenced by national considerations, neither are they influenced by racial or religious considerations. These international trade unions are in themselves complete organizations and autonomous in character. There is vested in the American Federation of Labor only such power and authority as these federated International Unions have delegated or may delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

3. JURISDICTION OF INTERNATIONAL UNIONS STRICTLY DEFINED (op. cit.)

The principal requirement, contained in the articles of federation, or the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, is that no International Union shall interfere with, transgress upon or overlap the recognized trade or calling of another International Union. No two International Trade Unions are permitted to embrace in their membership workers engaged in the same character of work or calling.

Difficulties present themselves at times in clearly defining trades and industries. Likewise conflicts arise between different concepts of trade lines and branches of trades within industries. Then, too, the constant changes taking place in the methods, tools, processes and materials for production develop contentions. Singly or combined these developments make necessary from time to time the revision of the lines of demarcation of trades and workers included within a given industry. By the requirement contained in the articles of federation referred to, the American Federation of Labor is called on to adjust or to determine conflicting claims of jurisdiction as they arise. Considerable difficulties are experienced at times in the adjusting of these conflicting claims.

4. GOVERNMENT BASED ON MORAL POWER AND MUTUAL NEED (op. cit.)

While the international unions have delegated this authority to the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor is without power to enforce its decision other than to suspend or revoke the charter of an

affiliated recalcitrant International Union. This can only be done by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

Non-affiliation with the American Federation of Labor does not involve the enforcement of any penalty or measure of discipline. International Unions may associate or disassociate from the American Federation of Labor at will. The American Federation of Labor is purely a voluntary federation. Its great strength is dependent entirely upon its fair and just dealing toward all federated unions.

While it is said that the American Federation of Labor largely resembles the United States government in its form and principle of organization, its distinguishing difference lies in the fact that the American Federation of Labor has no police power to enforce its decisions or to retain the membership of federated unions by other than moral influence. Its sole power and influence rest upon the recognition and response to the maxim, "United we stand; divided we fall."

Because of the absence of power to enforce its decisions, the American Federation of Labor must of necessity proceed carefully, cautiously, and intelligently. It can advance only in such a way and to such a degree as will command constantly the respect and adherence to its leadership by the federated International Unions. It is therefore a body that can not be easily swayed by passion or prejudice. On the contrary, it is compelled to move along firm and sound channels that have been well charted by experience and research.

5. GOVERNMENT MACHINERY

(op. cit.)

All power and final authority within the American Federation of Labor resides in its conventions, held annually. All international unions, city and state federations of labor and local and federated unions are entitled to send delegates to these annual meetings. The city and state federations are entitled to one delegate and one vote to each delegate. The representation of the international unions is regulated and limited upon a graded scale of one delegate for less than four thousand members, two delegates for four thousand or more; three delegates for eight thousand or more; four delegates for sixteen thousand or

more; five delegates for thirty-two thousand and so on. One vote is allowed each delegate; however, upon a demand for a roll call vote the entire membership of each international union is cast. By that arrangement city and state federations of labor are entitled to a large delegate representation but comparatively small voting power, while international unions are given a predominating vote and control over the affairs of the conventions.

The Executive Council—The officers of the American Federation of Labor consist of a president, eight vice-presidents, a secretary and a treasurer. Combined, these officers constitute the Executive Council. In the interim between conventions the Executive Council acts on behalf of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council, however, is purely an administrative committee charged with the duty of carrying into effect the conclusions reached by the convention. It may take the initiative in such matters as arise between conventions and which demand immediate action. Its actions and decisions are subject to review by the next convention. While disputes between international unions may be acted on by the Executive Council, if submitted by one of the organizations involved, its decisions are not final. The convention itself is the final arbiter in all matters of controversy.

6. PRINCIPLES AND ACTIVITIES

(Samuel Gompers, "The American Labor Movement," *A. F. of L. Pamphlet*, p. 34)

From the inception of the American Federation of Labor it has taken the stand that while unions for the various trades and callings must each and all be left entirely free to govern themselves within their own borders, yet between the members of all these unions there should be a bond as great as that between the members of the same organization. And it is the aim of the A. F. of L. to strengthen that bond by organization, and by education and inculcation of the feeling and consciousness of unity of interest and solidarity to place the labor movement upon a higher and more effective plane. It seeks to organize the yet unorganized workers, the skilled and the unskilled, the permanently located and the migratory.

The A. F. of L. holds that whatever a man may be, so

long as he works honestly and seeks to wrong no other man or to advantage himself at the cost to another, and seeks to maintain this standard regardless of how many toilers may happen to be employed, he is a man. Though the A. F. of L. does not advocate strikes, yet it encourages them when all other means to obtain justice for the toilers have failed. It urges that the workers when struck, strike back as best they can. Though strikes do not always win, even those alleged to be lost at least induce employers to forbear in the future and teach them a lesson they do not readily forget; namely, that Labor is the most important factor in production and entitled to a voice in the question of wages, hours, and conditions under which work shall be performed.

The A. F. of L. stands as the most potent factor in all our country in defense of the right of free assemblage, free speech, and free press. It endeavors to unite all classes of wage-earners under one head through their several organizations with the purpose in view that class, race, creed, political, and trade prejudices may be abolished and that moral and financial support may be given to all. It aims to allow in the light of experience the utmost liberty of each organization in the conduct of its own affairs consistent with the generally understood practice of the identity and solidarity of Labor.

The A. F. of L. establishes intercommunication, creates agitation and educates not only the workers but the educators. It is in direct correspondence and conference with the representative workers and thinkers the world over. It urges the interests of the toilers in Congress, state legislatures, municipal legislative bodies, administrative offices, and judicial agencies. It initiates measures in the name of Labor and liberty, and decides upon acts according as they benefit or are calculated to injure the masses of the people. It has secured vast relief from burdensome laws and governmental officials. It seeks and will achieve freedom and justice for all. It encourages and has largely achieved the interchange of ideas, ideals, and methods. It seeks to cultivate mutual interest, and to secure united action to announce to the world the wrongs and burdens which the toilers have too long endured. It voices the aims and hopes of the toiling masses. It asks and demands the coopera-

tion of the organizations, cooperation and affiliation of all wage workers who believe in the principle of unity, and that there is something better in life than long hours, low wages, unemployment and all that these imply.

The A. F. of L. endorses as basic these economic principles: That no trade or calling can long maintain wages, hours, and conditions above the common level; that to maintain high wages all trades and callings must be organized; that lack of organization among the unskilled vitally affects the skilled, whether organized or unorganized; that generally organization of skilled and unskilled workers can be accomplished only by united action—federation; that the history of the labor movement demonstrates the necessity for the union of individuals and that logic implies a union of unions—federation.

The A. F. of L. urges the concentration of efforts to organize all the workers within the ranks of the organized, fair and open contest for the different views which may be entertained upon measures proposed to move the grand army of labor onward and forward. In no organization on earth is there such toleration, so great a scope, and so free a forum as within the ranks of the A. F. of L. and nowhere is there such a fair opportunity afforded for the advocacy of a new or brighter thought. The A. F. of L. affirms as one of the cardinal principles of the trade union movement that the working people must organize, unite, and federate, irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics. In the language of the late William E. Gladstone, "trade unions are the bulwarks of modern democracy."

The A. F. of L. stands unalterably for the abolition of all forms of involuntary servitude and devotes its time and efforts to make every day a day of a better life.

The trade union movement fosters education and up-roots ignorance; shortens hours and lengthens life; raises wages and lowers usury; increases independence and decreases dependence; develops manhood and balks tyranny; discourages selfishness and establishes fraternity; induces liberality and reduces prejudice; creates rights and abolishes wrongs; lightens toil and brightens man; makes the workers' workshop safe and brighter; cheers the home and fireside and makes the world better.

7. MORE IMPORTANT SERVICES

(Taken from "The Story of the A. F. of L.," by Matthew Woll, *International Labor News Service*, 1923)

With the constant growth and rapid extension of the functions of the American Federation of Labor, it was found necessary to create several bureaus and permanent committees, each to deal with some special problem and activity. At the present time the American Federation of Labor maintains a Publicity and Information Service, a Legislative Committee, a Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, a Committee on Cooperative Societies, a Committee on Education, a Personnel Research Service, and a Bureau for Legal Information.

PUBLICITY AND INFORMATION

The Publicity and Information Service is charged with the duty of gathering and disseminating information in relation to the labor movement. Information is furnished not only in book, pamphlet, and letter form, but material is supplied to the labor press, the daily press and publications of all kinds, and to writers, students, and all who are interested in labor matters.

VITAL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The Legislative Committee is charged with the duty of collecting and analyzing all legislative proposals that are presented to Congress and the several state legislatures, to advance such legislative proposals as have received the approval of the American Federation of Labor and to defeat legislation that is considered harmful. This committee also is charged with directing the attention of the public in general and organized labor in particular to legislative proposals considered harmful or beneficial and to do all that can be done to promote labor's interest from a legislative point of view.

It is the duty of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee to record the activities of all congressmen and senators and to note upon what legislation they favored labor and wherein their attitude and vote was used to the detriment to the wage-earners. It is the further duty of

this committee to encourage State Federations of Labor to appoint similar committees and to record the attitudes, and activities of State Legislators in the same manner. Whenever a political campaign presents itself it is the function of this committee to see that those loyal to labor are favored and that those are defeated who have been indifferent or hostile to the workers' interest. This campaign is then followed out in the subsequent election.

The American Federation of Labor avoids partisan political action. It is disinclined toward a distinctive labor political organization. It does not attempt to disturb the partisan political affiliations of its members, but seeks to use the political parties to the end that friends of labor shall be elected to public office and enemies of labor be defeated.

GUIDES COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES

The Committee on Cooperative Societies is created to protect and promote the interests of all bona fide co-operative movements. This committee is engaged in acquainting members of organized labor with the methods by which cooperative enterprises have been successfully established and maintained. It also has prevented trade unionists from venturing into cooperative enterprises which were in the main stockjobbing or exploiting organizations.

The American Federation of Labor is strongly inclined to the principles of the Rochdale system of cooperation which has been so successful in European countries. While the cooperative movements thus far encouraged have related more particularly to distributive functions, there is a marked demand for productive and financial cooperative enterprise. Indeed during the past year ten trade union banks have been established and more are in process of formation. Then, too, coal mines and other productive enterprises have been entered into by trade unions and trade unionists on a cooperative basis.

IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

Education has always been regarded by the American Federation of Labor on the basis of a permanent and responsible growth of the trade union movement. Education is, indeed, an integral part of the trade unions.

Historically the interest of the American Federation of Labor dates back to the championship of our free public school system. Perhaps no other influence contributed more to the development of our free public school system. These educational institutions have ever been under the most vigorous scrutiny of the American Federation of Labor. The interest of the trade unions relates not alone to the interests of the students, but includes that of the teachers and professors. The activities of the American Federation of Labor cover the grammar and higher schools, as well as colleges and universities and embrace textbooks, studies, classes, etc.

With the development and demand for vocational guidance and learning, the American Federation of Labor's interests and activities in educational affairs increased, making it necessary to investigate, report upon and recommend such attitudes and policies as it might seem wise for the trade unions to follow in all matters affecting education. The American Federation of Labor has endorsed vocational education and training. In many instances trade unions have provided actual classes for technical education for both learners and journeymen workers. In addition practically every International Union carries forward a program of technical and trade education through the official publications.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

More recently the American Federation of Labor, following the recommendation of its Committee on Education, has enlarged its educational activities by promoting adult workers' educational institutions. Prompted by the success attained by earlier experiences in England, the American trade unions about seven years ago modestly ventured into a similar movement, but modified to meet conditions peculiar to America. Those enterprises are undertaken under union control and union finances, though not necessarily confined to trade union members.

One by one, in different parts of the country, trade union colleges, workers' universities and labor schools have been established. Because of the remarkable growth and favorable response the Workers' Education Bureau has been formed.

Of this Bureau, the American Federation of Labor, through its Committee on Education, is an integral part. Through this Bureau additional stimulus is given to adult workers' education and facilities for prompting this kind of education.

RESEARCH EFFORTS

The American Federation of Labor has also interested itself to a considerable extent in research undertakings. It has identified itself with the Personnel Research Foundation, with which there are affiliated twenty-five research organizations of national repute. In addition, members of this Bureau are associated in a number of other research organizations. Through this Bureau a helpful cooperative relationship is being promoted with industrial, managerial and personnel research engineers. This movement is only in its inception, but is fast maturing into an important function of the trade union movement.

FIGHTING FOR JUSTICE

Within the past year the American Federation of Labor has created a Legal Information Bureau. Because of the concerted and ever increasing onslaught made upon the trade union movement by employers through the courts and legislatures and which attacks are directed against the fundamental rights and vital functions of trade unions, it was deemed imperative that a careful survey and analysis be made of all laws and judicial decisions affecting the rights of labor.

It is the further purpose of this Bureau to prepare such statements and issue such advice and instruction, as will be helpful in all future litigation and to give such legal advice as will protect and promote best the rights of the wage-earners and their trade unions. It is not intended that the American Federation of Labor shall undertake to provide counsel for trade unions involved in litigation. However, it is the purpose, through this Bureau, to secure the cooperation and to coordinate the activities of such lawyers as are sympathetic to Labor and as may be employed from time to time to defend the rights of Labor.

In view of the marked tendency of employers to hamper or to defeat the trade unions in their militant

activities through the courts and to involve them in expensive litigation, this Bureau bids fair to become one of the most important Bureaus of the American Federation of Labor.

B. Government and Functions of State and City Federations.

(Taken from "The Story of the A. F. of L.," by Matthew Woll, *International Labor News Service*, 1923)

Because the great majority, or at least many of the international unions have local unions in nearly all large cities and particularly in industrial centers, there is formed a local or city federation of local unions. These city federations of labor are founded on lines similar to the American Federation of Labor.

These local bodies, like the American Federation of Labor, are federated organizations and derive their power and authority from the federated local unions which power and authority, however, are subject to contest by the American Federation of Labor. Indirectly they are further restrained by the power of discipline that international unions wield over their respective local unions that constitute these federated bodies. Thus the American Federation of Labor may dissolve these federated organizations and organize new ones, or international unions may direct their local unions to dissociate themselves from such city central bodies. At the present time there are 890¹ of these city federations of labor.

STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR

Subordinate or local unions of international unions are situated in practically every state in the United States and in Canada. These local unions are organized also into state federations of labor and in Canada into the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress. These state federations of labor and the Dominion Federation are akin to the city federations of labor and are regulated in the same manner and by identical methods.

While both state and city federations of labor are subject to the direct supervision and control of the Ameri-

¹ The 1924 Executive Council Report records 855 City Central Bodies. (Editor.)

can Federation of Labor and indirectly to the influence and authority of the international unions, they are independent of each other. However, because the membership of one is also federated in membership with the other, there is set up a nice balance of power between city and state federations of labor.

BALANCE OF POWER

These state federations of labor, like the city federations of labor, have no power or authority other than that delegated to them by the American Federation of Labor, and the international unions. They are not vested with authority to inaugurate strikes, direct or sympathetic, nor can they enter into collective agreements in behalf of local or international unions without the consent of such international unions.

Representation of local unions in these city and state federations of labor is largely a matter of local discretion limited only by the rules of maximum representation fixed by the American Federation of Labor. These rules of representation are devised to prevent any one group dominating the affairs of these federations of labor.

While city and state federations of labor can not interfere with or assume to determine questions relating to terms and conditions of employment unless requested to do so by the international unions affected, they do formulate policies and express attitudes on general industrial situations which affect the interest of the workers in common. However, their principal function relates to legislative matters. In this sphere of activity the city and state federations of labor wield great influence and power.

SOURCE OF POWER IN ASSEMBLIES

State federations of labor meet annually in convention, which assembly is the supreme authority in such federations, subject to appeal to the American Federation of Labor. City federations of labor meet once or twice a month and these regular meetings are the supreme authority in these federations subject to appeal to the American Federation of Labor.

CHAPTER IX

TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

A. Industrial Departments.

1. JURISDICTION AND POWER

(Taken from "The Story of the A. F. of L.," by Matthew Woll, *International Labor News Service*, 1923)

With the ever increasing industrial activities and complexities, the constant growth of trade unionism, and the rapid multiplication of duties and functions and of the American Federation of Labor, it became desirable to create distinctive bureaus or departments charged with particular duties and functions which could not be administered so efficiently by the American Federation of Labor as a whole.

The Departments thus far formed are four in number and include the Building Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, the Railway Employees' Department and the Union Label Trades Department.

Industrial Departments—These departments are subordinate divisions or agencies of the American Federation of Labor. They are distinguished from city and state federations of labor in that they are formed on industrial lines. They afford the opportunity to federated international unions of delegating powers and authority to such departments which they would not and could not delegate to the American Federation of Labor because of its general labor character. These departments are created in immediate response to the needs and requirements of the great developments taking place in the more basic industries of our Nation. They reflect the desire for larger and greater industrial cohesion and coordination of collective power without destroying trade autonomy. While greater power

and influence is vested in these departments, they are nevertheless subject to the control and supervision of the American Federation of Labor and to the international unions associated with these departments.

These departments have developed in turn subordinate departments in the various cities where a sufficient number of subordinate local unions of workers are engaged in the several trades represented in a department. Thus we find subordinate building trades councils in many cities and also union label leagues. All of these local councils or leagues are independent of one another but all are subject to regulation and control of their respective international departments. These international departments in turn are subject to review by the American Federation of Labor.

2. AIMS AND PURPOSES

(Taken from Report of President James O'Connell to *Metal Trades Department Proceedings*, 1910, pp. 4-5)

Some few years ago when the idea was first put into effect of establishing various departments in the American Federation of Labor in which kindred trades of a given industry might have some cooperative effort, for the purpose of protecting the rights and promoting the interests of the men of labor, some misgivings were expressed as to where it might lead. Everyone who gave attention to the historic development of the labor movement of this and other countries realized the fact that, as it was the manifestation of ignorance on the part of a wage-earner who neglected to become a member of his union, so it was shortsighted for a local union of a trade to remain outside of its national or international union; and so it was morally wrong for an international union to remain outside of the American Federation of Labor.

But the trade union movement that maintains trade integrity, that maintains not the narrow trade lines—because we see them frequently overlapping, and, with industrial changes, continuous transitions from one form into another—the organization of our trades, the maintenance of our trade jurisdiction and autonomy, to be as distinct as the waves and as one as the ocean; to organize our unions, to instill into the minds of our fellow workers trade pride,

to have them realize that their interests can not be efficiently, effectively promoted by standing alone, that it is immoral for a trade union to stand alone from its fellow workers. To associate, then to affiliate, to cooperate with the unions nearest akin to that which the membership of the union follow, so that we may have a movement such as is expressed in your Metal Trades Department, as is expressed in the Building Trades Department, such as is expressed in the Railroad, the Transportation Department, and that which will find its expression in the various departments of the industries of our country. And you will observe, to carry out the thought, that you will find there the men of labor scientifically organized, each in his own industrial regiment, each in his own industrial department, each performing a different function, and yet acting in common to bring about one great result in the interest of all.

B. International Union the Dominant Unit.

1. VARYING FORMS AND JURISDICTIONS

(Taken from "The Story of the A. F. of L.," by Matthew Woll, *International Labor News Service*, 1923)

The International Trade Unions, comprising the membership of the American Federation of Labor, are founded on no preconceived or prescribed method or form of organization. The method and form of organization is largely a matter of development. The free play of economic forces and industrial tendencies largely influences the form and method of organization. Some of the international unions are founded upon strictly trade or craft lines, while others embrace, to a greater or lesser degree, all wage-earners within a given industry, regardless of trade or craft lines.

The principal requirements, contained in the articles of federation, or the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, is that no International Union shall interfere with, transgress upon or overlap the recognized trade or calling of another International Union. No two International Trade Unions are permitted to embrace in their membership workers engaged in the same character of work or calling.

Difficulties present themselves at times in clearly defining trades and industries. Likewise conflicts arise between different concepts of trade lines and branches of trades within industries. Then, too, the constant changes taking place in the methods, tools, processes and materials for production develop contentions. Singly or combined these developments make necessary from time to time the revision of the lines of demarcation of trades and workers included within a given industry. By the requirement contained in the articles of federation referred to, the American Federation of Labor is called on to adjust or to determine conflicting claims of jurisdiction as they arise. Considerable difficulties are experienced at times in the adjusting of these conflicting claims.

2. ATTITUDES, POLICIES AND FUNCTIONS (Op. cit.)

The International Unions, like all organized groups of people, shape their attitudes, policies and functions by growth and experiences. New and unforeseen conditions may change them. A change in leadership, the spread of a new idea may produce a change in policy. Whatever may effect the change, the American Federation of Labor is without power to interfere or command a change in policy.

While primarily concerned with all phases entering into the employment relationship, such as wages, hours, conditions and terms of employment, these international unions must deal also with a vast range of problems of internal government. They determine conditions and qualifications of admission, the number of apprentices to be allowed, the desirable units of local government; the manner in which mandates to the officers must be carried out; the relations which are to obtain with unions in similar occupations, etc.

The industrial unions are essentially militant organizations because at some time or other all are compelled to engage in tests of strength with employers. As a consequence each International Union has developed its own conception of industrial strategy. Thus the railroad unions use one type of strategy, while the building trades unions or the metal or printing trades unions use another.

3. RELATION TO SUBORDINATE UNITS (Op. cit.)

Federated International Unions are themselves composed of smaller groups of workers within the recognized and established trade or calling. These smaller groups of workers are generally confined in their membership to one city excepting where the cities or towns contain so few a number of the particular workers as to make an organization impracticable or undesirable. In such instances two or more cities or towns may be embraced into one organization. Thus we find that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters is divided into local unions in as many different cities. Likewise, the United Mine Workers contains local unions in as many cities and towns.

Again there may be several local unions of one International Union in one city. Where this is true the line of demarcation is usually based upon some special distinction in the work included within the particular trade or calling. Thus the International Typographical Union maintains a local union of mailers as distinguished from those employed in the composing room. The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union maintains in one city three local unions—a local union of pressmen engaged in commercial shops, a local union of pressmen employed in newspaper plants and a local union of pressfeeders. However, all of these local unions are subordinate to their respective international union. There is vested in these International Unions final regulative authority with power to enforce discipline and to compel obedience.

Where Power Lies—Usually the power to initiate collective agreements or to inaugurate strikes is vested in these subordinate unions. Invariably the International Unions retain the power to disapprove agreements and settlements being considered and to prevent the enforcement of strikes. Thus there is vested in these local unions the opportunity for local initiative and adventure. This local initiative power represents the life and progress of the trade unions. At the same time, there resides in the International Unions an effective check against such collective actions on the part of local unions as may endanger the International structure

or threaten the general welfare of all members of the International organization.

The American Federation of Labor has no authority or supervision whatever over the affairs of International Unions and their subordinate local unions. It can only intercede when requested to do so by the International Unions directly concerned. There are approximately 35,000¹ of these local unions in direct affiliation with International Unions.

¹ The 1924 Report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. records 32,157 local unions directly affiliated with International Unions. (Editor)

CHAPTER X

ORGANIZATION POLICIES AND PROBLEMS

A. Success of Labor Movement Rests on Trade Autonomy and Organization on Trade Lines.

(Autonomy Declaration, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1912, pp. 114-15)

Greeting—The undersigned, your special committee appointed to consider the question of the autonomy of the trade unions, beg leave to say that it is our judgment that the future success, permanency, and safety of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the trade unions themselves, depends upon the recognition and application of the principle of autonomy, consistent with the varying phases and transactions in industry.

We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins, and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for, without the recognition and application of these qualities any decision we may formulate will be futile. We, therefore, recommend as follows:

1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to

that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable.

However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions. Nothing contained in this declaration is intended or shall be construed to mean a reversal of any decision rendered by former Executive Councils or previous conventions on questions of jurisdiction.

2. We hold that the interest of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and sub-divided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation, and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts lines.

3. The American Federation of Labor being a voluntary association, can not direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to or in conflict with established trade union laws, and in order to carry the above recommendations into effect, and in full recognition of its logical position, the American Federation of Labor pledges its officers to aid and assist in the adjustment of such craft encroachments as disputants may be willing to submit to its arbitration.

B. Misconception of Term "Trade Autonomy."

(Taken from "Industrial Unionism in its Relation to Trade Unionism," *A. F. of L. Pamphlet*)

In its report to the Rochester Convention of 1912 the Executive Council, in discussing a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, not only reaffirmed the Scranton autonomy declaration, but added the following declaration:

"In connection with this declaration it is necessary

to call attention to a frequent misconception of the term 'autonomy' as it is used by the American Federation of Labor. Some have mistakenly interpreted it to mean that a trade union can not expand its jurisdiction, or amalgamate with another organization of the same or of a kindred trade in the same industry. The term 'autonomy,' as applied, has been used as an obstacle to such extension, growth, and amalgamation. No such construction or interpretation can be justly given the term. Broadly and specifically speaking, the term 'autonomy' means self-government, as automaton and automatic, self-acting; autobiography, self-writing the history of one's own life; automobile, self-propelling, deriving its general application from the root word auto, self. We are prompted to this explanation by several instances in which the term 'industrial unionism' is applied, as against trade unionism, with its autonomous self-government, as well as by a circular which was recently issued by the Metal Trades Council of Toledo, Ohio, in which the affiliated organizations and the delegates to this convention are urged to favor an amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, so that—

"National and International trade unions shall have the right to amalgamation; such amalgamation must be endorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected, and a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting upon such amendment in each organization, shall be necessary to make the amendment legal and binding."

"Such a proposition is based upon the misconception that the American Federation of Labor prevents, or has the power to prevent or place obstacles in the way of, amalgamation of national or international trade unions, when they so desire to amalgamate, when as a matter of fact every effort has been made by the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council, and our organizations to bring about amalgamation of national and international unions, and where that has been impossible for the time being, to endeavor to have them cooperate and federate for their mutual advantage.

"Attention is also called to the provision of this suggested amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, that if it were adopted it would require a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting to

bring about amalgamation, when as a matter of fact, amalgamation of several organizations has been effected by conference and agreement ratified by a majority of the membership, or a majority of the convention, voting upon the question. Thus it will retard and not facilitate."

C. Jurisdictional Demarcations Guaranteed.

(Taken from reports of Committee of Grievances and Committee on Law, and adopted by A. F. of L. Convention, *Proceedings*, 1900, p. 146)

Delegate O'Brien, for the Committee of Grievances, submitted the following:

We, your Committee on Grievances, after a careful consideration of the several matters which have been submitted to our attention, beg leave to present the following findings, and, with your permission, we desire to preface these findings with some general remarks and recommendations, which appear to us both opportune and in the best interest of the great movement with which we are all concerned.

At each succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor, we find that of the grievances presented for adjudication the great proportion of them involve questions of jurisdiction, which arise between bodies very often, both being chartered by this body. These disputes become of a more aggravated character when it is demonstrated to your committee that each party has apparently been accorded jurisdiction over the field immediately in dispute by the American Federation of Labor charter. Particularly is this the case when the dispute involves one of what we might term the composite charters granted by the American Federation of Labor. And often, as a result, we find ourselves confronted with the undesirable task of limiting on the one hand what is popularly regarded as trade autonomy, or, on the other, of disintegrating a composite organization which, while in existence, has demonstrated its ability both to protect and advance the interests of its members to a remarkable degree. In such cases we are strongly of the opinion that narrow conceptions of strict trade autonomy should give way to the policy which, in our judgment, will best serve the workers immediately involved, and best promote the power of the general movement. We desire fur-

ther to say that this body can not, in our opinion, presume, by resolution or otherwise, to transfer bodies of men from one organization to another, unless with their consent.

In line with these opinions, we beg to submit the following recommendations, with the hope that they will be concurred in, and that they will be referred to the Committee on Law, with instructions to engraft their substance in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

First.—That hereafter, when granting a charter to organizations of a particular craft or calling, jurisdiction over which, in whole or in part, has been granted by the terms of a charter already issued to another organization, the limitations of the new jurisdiction shall, as far as practical, be defined by the Executive Council after consultation with the organization having the priority claim. And if such limitations be unsatisfactory to the new applicant, no charter of the American Federation of Labor shall be granted. In all cases, whether of the acceptance of limitations by the younger organization, or of the relinquishment of jurisdiction by the other, the same shall be secured, specifically stated, in writing from the proper officers of the interested bodies, and preserved for the future guidance of this convention.

The Committee on Law submitted the following supplementary report:

A new section, as section 11, of Article IX:

No charter shall be granted by the A. F. of L., to any national or international union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such union.

D. Jurisdiction Disputes Threaten Progress of Labor Movement.

(Taken from President Gompers' Report, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1902, p. 16)

Beyond doubt, the greatest problem, the danger, which above all others most threatens not only the success, but the very existence of the American Federation of Labor, is the question of jurisdiction. I may truly record the fact that never for one moment since the formation of our

Federation have I entertained a doubt or misgiving as to the growth, success and permanency of the American Federation of Labor, and I would not now be apprehensive of its future were it not forced upon my deliberate judgment, which has developed into a firm conviction, that unless our affiliated National and International Unions radically and soon change their course, we shall at no distant day be in the midst of an internecine contest unparalleled in any era of the industrial world, aye, not even when workmen of different trades were arrayed against each other behind barricades in the streets over the question of trade against trade. They mutually regarded each with hatred and treated each other as mortal enemies.

Is the great cause of labor to drift into such a miserable and dreadful strife?

Are all the sacrifices made, to be ruthlessly thrown into the gutter, as the germ to fructify and destroy the vigor, the very life of our cause?

Is organized labor, the only check to rapacious greed and tyranny, the only hope of labor for protection now or liberty for the future, to be engulfed in a tidal wave of expansion madness?

No combination of labor's enemies need cause us the apprehension which this fratricidal strife does in the claims made by unions for the existence of their trade jurisdiction.

There is scarcely an affiliated organization which is not engaged in a dispute with another organization (and in some cases with several organizations) upon the question of jurisdiction. It is not an uncommon occurrence for an organization, and several have done so quite recently, to so change their laws and claims to jurisdiction as to cover trades never contemplated by the organization's officers or members; never comprehended by their title; trades of which there is already in existence a national union. And this without a word of advice, counsel or warning.

Of course it is evident that in some instances there are two or more organizations which should and could, with advantage, be consolidated or amalgamated into one, and efforts by such organizations should certainly be made, assisted or initiated by the American Federation of Labor, but I submit that it is untenable and intolerable for an organization to attempt to ride rough shod over and trample

under foot the rights and jurisdiction of a trade the jurisdiction of which is already covered by an existing organization.

This contention for jurisdiction has grown into such proportions and is fought with such intensity as to arouse the most bitter feuds and trade wars. In many instances employers fairly inclined towards organized labor have been made innocently to suffer from causes entirely beyond their control, and other employers again, have taken advantage of the first inception of the fancy or notion for "expansion" of trade jurisdiction, fanned it into a flame and taking advantage of the excitement and hatred of and war against each other, refused to recognize either organization, pretending to claim it a war amongst labor organizations with which they do not wish to interfere. On the surface the employers' claims appear tenable, but in their hearts they enjoy the situation by which their pockets are enriched. Nevertheless the employers' contention in regard to this question can not be disputed. But of the organizations the same can not be said. The interest of the wage-earners of the craft, to promote and protect which the organizations were primarily formed, have no moral or lawful right, from a trade union point of view, to be jeopardized by pursuing a policy in an attempt at trade invasion made without the knowledge or consent of the crafts invaded.

E. Secession and Dual Unionism Weaken Labor Movement.

(Taken from "Dual Organizations" in *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, October, 1923, p. 576)

To every convention in the past twelve years there have been reports made by your officers on dual organizations of electrical workers. It appears that the division occurring in 1908 germinated, in the minds of some, the idea that the creation of division was either popular or profitable, or both. It is true that within the organization may always be found those who, caring nothing for their sacred obligation, will attempt to create dissension and division of forces, and usually it is profitable to them personally. The more successful an organization is, or threatens to become, in obtaining conditions for its members, the

greater the desire on the part of certain large employers to have injected into the veins of that organization the poison virus of dissatisfaction, dissent and separation. Our organization, destined by the very nature of our vocation to be one of the greatest labor organizations, if not the greatest, has been a shining mark for the Union wrecker.

Despite the fact that every secession movement and every Company-owned Union have left a very clear trail of wrecked conditions, lowered wage scales and general misery in their wake, the agents of the big employers, within our ranks, still find those who, due to their inexperience, credulity or natural perversity, will be led into the trap that has wrecked so many live and effective organizations,—the most recent case of unmasking such organizations being that of the self-styled International (?) Brotherhood (?) of Telephone Workers in New England.

In 1912 the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers organized the telephone workers of New England completely. For a few years the Company was unable to successfully resist the just demands made by them, but steady effort finally developed a coterie of men who sowed the seeds of dissolution, and carefully nurtured the plants thereof, until in 1920 the dual organization of the male telephone workers became a fact. This organization, while proving a brake of sufficient power to successfully stop further progress, was not of sufficient strength to be used by the Company to wreck organization entirely, because the Telephone Operators were still a unit. There remained the job of growing dissent sufficiently strong to wreck that organization, and means was found to do that. The fine effect was finally produced by having the organization conducted on such lines that the greater portion of the membership became disgusted and refused to attend meetings. From that it was only an easy and natural step to refusing to pay dues. The funds of the organization were dissipated so that even without trouble there were not funds enough for the current expenses of the organization. Rights of members were completely ignored, and the will or whim of a few substituted for their laws. This led to the inevitable result of disciplinary action by the Telephone Operators' Department, and the installation of a new Local Union, and after a strike vote by all the Opera-

tors in New England, that was more than ninety per cent in favor of a strike to enforce their demands, a strike of Operators was called and we had the pitiful spectacle of charter members of the Operators' organization not only remaining at work themselves, but going about inducing or trying to induce striking Operators to return to work; and the so-called International Brotherhood of Telephone workers came out in their true light as a Company organization, and leaving no stone unturned to insure the defeat of the Telephone Operators; not only working in places of Operators, but issuing statements on behalf of the Company and acting as labor agents for them. The injury done to the Brotherhood by any or all of the secession movements is slight compared to the injury done to the workers in the industry in which such handmade abortions on the labor movement occur.

The time will, of course, come when such methods will have run their course, and the workers will fully realize the folly of their claim that strength can be gained by dividing the forces in any trade or calling. In the meantime we have a variety of pests in the form of the various telephone companies' unions (?) and the old guard debating society known as the W. E. I. and a number of other self-appointed saviors of Labor, that in reality are only agents of disruption, representing an investment by the employers that is profitable to them in the saving on wages that a bona fide Labor Union could demand and receive.

F. Structural Forms Controversy.

1. PRESENT FORM AND STRUCTURE AN OUTGROWTH OF CONDITIONS (MAJORITY VIEWPOINT)

a. Trade Unions are Natural Development.

(Taken from President Gompers' Report, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1907)

In previous reports which I have had the honor to submit to conventions of the American Federation of Labor and in this, attention is called to the constantly changing conditions in labor which are brought about by the introduction of new machinery and improved tools and substitutes for old material, with the division, subdivision and

specialization of labor. Our movement, in order to be most effective for the protection and the advancement of the interests of labor, must recognize the constant recurrence of these changes in industry, meet them and deal with them in the most enlightened and comprehensive manner.

To attempt to meet these conditions without taking into account our existing organizations as they are now formed; to attempt to institute what some are pleased to term industrial organizations with the avowed purpose of destroying existing trade unions, is not only foolhardy, but it is ruinous, *aye*, almost criminal.

Trade unions are not rigid organizations which can not meet new conditions. In truth, our trade unions are flexible and are constantly solving the trade and industrial problems confronting them.

The constantly increasing claims to jurisdiction are themselves evidence of the evolutionary character of the trade unions, which endeavor to expand their membership and adapt themselves to the various branches of industry under their jurisdiction and influence.

Starting from the first principle that he who works as a wage-earner is entitled to the protection and benefit of organization, is involved the logical development of organization; that is, local organization of a trade, craft or industry forming one international union, and where there are a number of organizations covering various branches of one industry, they are not only cooperating for their common good but eventually developing into one amalgamated body.

To attempt prematurely to force such amalgamation brings reaction and failure in its wake. We have evidence of a number of international unions which started out and continued for a number of years to have jurisdiction over all branches of one industry, and yet in time, by mutual consent in some cases, and as the result of contest in others, they divided into several separate international unions. In some instances thereafter they cooperated with each other with the best possible results; in others, the contest was continued.

It may not be uninteresting to call attention to a fact of recent occurrence. A branch of the United Garment Workers of America, known as the most rampant advocate

of the so-called industrial form of organization, has undertaken a movement, no matter how abortive, for the formation of an international union of its own branch of the trade. Other instances of the same character could be cited, clearly showing that the advocates of the so-called industrial form of organization simply use it as a subterfuge to cover their antagonism to the proper development and the fullest extension of the trade union movement on natural and rational lines.

With all the responsibilities devolving upon us to be of service to our fellow workers, we should not only organize the yet unorganized, inculcate the spirit of unity, fraternity and federation; but we should work to that one common end which shall make our organized labor movement the most effective to advance the interests of the toiling masses of our country and to bring encouragement and hope, light and success, into their lives and into the lives of those dependent upon them.

b. Disastrous to Force Industrial Unionism.

(Taken from "Hew to Trade Union Lines," in President Gompers' Report, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1903, pp. 18-19)

The attempt to force the trade unions into what has been termed industrial organization is perverse to the history of the labor movement, runs counter to the best conceptions of the toilers' interests now, and is sure to lead to the confusion which precedes dissolution and disruption. It is time for the American Federation of Labor to solemnly call a halt. It is time for our fellow unionists entrusted with the grave responsibilities to help stem the tide of expansion madness lest either by their indifference or encouragement their organizations will be drawn into the vortex that will engulf them to their possible dismemberment and destruction. There is virtue and a great need of praise due in organizing our fellow workers that they may defend and further their interests.

No tribute too great can be paid those engaged in the past and in the present who have done and who are doing this splendid work; but virtue, merit and tribute must be effaced unless we meet the conditions, ay, the awful calamity which is inevitable if trade union lines are not

recognized and enforced—enforced not so much by an edict of this Federation, but by the common sense and power of the organizations themselves. The advocates of the so-called industrial system of labor organizations urge that an effective strike can only be conducted when all workmen, regardless of trade, calling or occupation, are affected.

That this is not borne out by the history of strikes in the whole labor movement is easily demonstrable. Though here and there such strikes have been temporarily successful, in the main they have been fraught with injury to all. The so-called industrial system of organization implies sympathetic strikes, and these, time and experience have demonstrated, that, as a general proposition, they should be discarded, while strikes of particular trades or callings have had the largest number of successes and the minimum of defeats. Quite apart from these considerations, however, are the splendid advantages obtained by the trade unions without the necessity of strikes or the interruption of industry. No one will attempt to say that a sympathetic strike shall under no circumstances occur. Under certain conditions it may be not only justifiable but practical and successful, even if only as an emphatic protest against a great injustice or wrong; but generally and normally considered, such strikes can not be of advantage.

One feature in connection with a system of industrial organization and its concomitant, the sympathetic strike, has been overlooked. By its methods any one of our international organizations could be financially drained and actually ruined in a very brief period in an effort to sustain the members involved; while, on the other hand, in a well-formulated trade union movement, a large number of men of different crafts, belonging to their own international trade unions, could be indefinitely sustained financially and victory achieved. At least the organizations maintained, not only to continue that battle, but to take up the cudgels in defense of their members elsewhere.

The advocates of the industrial system of organization undertake to correct an error by the commission of a graver one, the failure of our international trade unions to primarily provide themselves with large funds to protect their own members and to assist their fellow unionists of other trades when they are engaged in conflict.

We should bear in mind that in our labor movement we are not building simply for the day in which we live; we are building for all time to come, if we build but wisely. The trade union movement is the historic development of the wage-earners' struggle for fairer conditions of life, for right and for justice. That movement has stood the test of time. It has secured for the workers the vantage ground they now occupy. To strengthen that movement, yet keep it as near as possible to the lines upon which it has demonstrated its usefulness and capacity; to bring about a still closer federation among the distinctive organized international trade unions; to help bear each other's burdens; to be helpful to each other in every vicissitude and effort for labor's disenthralment; these will not only encourage the yet unorganized to unite with us, but more firmly cement the consciousness of solidarity and the bonds of fraternity in the American Federation of Labor; that each international union, that is, each wing in the grand army of labor, will feel itself more self-reliant, and all feel more greatly interdependent, the whole phalanx surely gaining day after day and year after year until we shall be invulnerable in peace, unconquerable in action, indubitable in the fulfillment of our mission in the establishment of good will among men.

c. Departments and Federations Bring Results.

(Taken from "This Is No Time for Experimenting With Hasty and Untried Theories," in *Boilermakers' and Iron Ship Builders' Journal*, November, 1922, pp. 547-8)

We understand that a call has been issued for a meeting to take place in Chicago early this month, for the avowed purpose of "amalgamating" the sixteen railroad organizations. Under the existing conditions this would be a herculean task for any conference to consummate; but at this time we believe it is not only herculean but unwise and dangerous for the future welfare of the railway employes. For months four hundred thousand shopmen were on strike and at least two-thirds of them are still fighting hard for the right to exist as organized bodies. They are entitled and should have the active and united support of all their fellow members in order to be able

to keep up this fight, and they must have it in order to fight the battle to a successful issue. Nothing should be said or done to divert or divide their thoughts or efforts from the most important duty of aiding, to the extent of their ability, their brothers still on the firing line. To call a meeting for the purpose of forming a new organization at this time is bound to have such an effect, if it were responded to by any large numbers, and no matter how good the intention of the promoters, will do more harm than good. As far as the shop crafts are concerned, they are as closely united in their federation as any form could unite them, and have all the advantages of unity of action in all matters concerning their general welfare, while at the same time have freedom of action in personal matters pertaining to their separate trades only.

The present federated movement of the railway employees could embrace and take care of the united action of all railroad employees, but so far this has not been obtainable and if all will not accept this form of united action, it is almost a certainty that they will not accept amalgamation, at least for some time to come. To undertake to force it upon them, whether they will or not, is bound to do more harm than good and especially so at the present unfavorable condition. Therefore for the sake of our members on strike, for the sake of unity and future success of the movement, we hope that our members will refrain from taking part or lending encouragement to this movement.

Here is how amalgamation of all railroad workers into one organization would affect the members of our trade: we are now an amalgamated organization of railroad boiler-makers and helpers, contract shop boilermakers and helpers, shipbuilders and helpers, and tank builders and helpers. Amalgamation of railroad employees would draw off the first mentioned group and the others would constitute the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America. The result would be splitting up our trades into groups rather than uniting them closer. The evolution of time and efforts for more complete unity will no doubt bring improvements in our present methods, but the present is no time for trying experiments and visionary schemes, which can only result in a division of our forces, efforts and resources. This is what those now bit-

terly fighting labor want, and if the railroad employes are wise they will discourage and frown down any such efforts.

2. EXISTING FORMS AND STRUCTURES OF UNIONS HAVE NOT KEPT PACE WITH INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT (MINORITY VIEWPOINT)

a. Only Solution is United Front Through Amalgamation.

(Resolution No. 29, introduced by the delegation of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, and Express Station Employes, acting on instructions from their convention, but rejected by A. F. of L. Convention, *Proceedings*, 1922, p. 264)

Whereas, The employers throughout the nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and moreover, they are supported by the government, the courts and the press in any union-smashing undertaking they engage in; and

Whereas, They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and

Whereas, These unions, because they are divided against themselves along trade lines and are thus unable to make united resistance against the employers, constantly suffering defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standards of living and working conditions; and

Whereas, The only solution for the situation, is the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various trade unions so that there will remain only one union for each industry; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of Organized Labor, and that as a first step in this direction the various International Unions be called into conference for the purpose of arranging to amalgamate all the unions in the respective indus-

tries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry.

b. Economic Advantage of Amalgamation.

(A letter "In Favor of Amalgamation," by E. McElwain, in *The Railway Clerk*, November, 1922, p. 546)

Indifference as to the tactics necessary to combat the organized profit takers warrants criticism by the rank and file, whose vision of social justice is beyond that of the average worker. The employers are taking the offensive, while the workers are on the defensive; and that indicates a lack of solidarity and vision on the part of the workers. With a single organization of railroad workers, the strike would have been history; without the loss of punitive overtime and a lowering of living standards.

When the workers realize that the enemy is "Profit," they will take the offensive, not resting until they eliminate Profit (which includes interest and rent), and the private ownership of public property. Labor can not receive the full product of its toil and at the same time maintain a class of profit takers. Such progressive measures as labor banks, insurance, pensions, etc., though beneficial, can not defeat the interests opposed to the interests of labor. Co-operative production and distribution of necessities by organized workers, might reasonably develop to an extent that would destroy the power of private capital.

The Clerks' convention adopted resolutions favoring amalgamation of the sixteen railroad unions. These were offered at the A. F. of L. convention and defeated. Is the A. F. of L. afraid of losing the respect of the kept press? Are the A. F. of L. so-called leaders so dead to the needs of the labor movement that they do not see the acute need of amalgamation of all craft unions? Perhaps the rank and file must instruct them where to "lead"! Or they may be "straw men," that should be pushed aside. This raises the question as to the advisability of large salaries for labor leaders.

Can an officer receiving a large salary (large even for a capitalist official), say six or eight times greater than the wage-earner whom he represents, hold the same outlook and point of view towards the life of a worker as the worker

himself? Many radical leaders receive little compensation; and many wage-earners themselves, devote their entire lives to the labor movement without financial reward. Of course, from a standpoint of supply and demand, the workers must pay the market price for ability and brains which shall produce results.

Twelve hundred delegates attended the Clerks' convention, which cost about \$300,000. Multiply this by sixteen and you realize the enormous waste of convention funds by sixteen railroad unions. Three hundred delegates could have secured equal results in less time at a great economy. Representation is not necessarily democratic, because a delegate representing twenty members and another 100 members, each had an equal vote. The large lodge shares the expense of the small lodge. Each lodge is represented directly. Imagine each village in the nation sending a Congressman to the Capitol.

A plan was offered to select delegates on a basis of one for each 500 members; each system or division board to hold a local convention previous to the International convention and select national delegates. The plan was defeated without debate.

Several hours were consumed, at a cost of \$9,000.00, in advertising cities calling for the next convention. This waste could be eliminated by selecting a central point permanently for holding conventions. The engineers adopted this plan.

At least twenty hours were spent in electing officers at a cost of over \$50,000.00. Many delegates attend conventions in the spirit of sightseeing, pleasure trip party, with little understanding of the responsibility incurred, or the needs of the members at home, who foot the bills.

Amalgamation of the railroad unions would eliminate the expense of sixteen craft journals and would make an enlarged and improved weekly *Labor* the greatest educator and mouthpiece of the workers in the world.

Duplication of the various office and field forces would be unnecessary under one railroad union. One executive body would control the functions and those other high officials could be utilized to advantage in organization work. The different groups or trades would be arranged by depart-

ments and differentials in dues or benefits handled just as they are now in several departments.

Fraternally,

E. McELWAIN.

Card 27180, Lodge 2158.

c. A Workable Amalgamation Plan.

(A letter, "Something for the Rank and File to Think About," by J. B. McMunn, in *International Molders' Journal*, April, 1923, pp. 229-230)

Pittsburgh, Pa., March 22, 1923.

Editor Journal:

The metal trades workers are required to possess as much skill as the workers in most lines of industry, yet they are among the poorest paid. There are reasons for it, and the principal reason is that they are not as well organized as workers in many other industries. The United Mine Workers' Union get a better average wage for their members than the molders' union does for its members, and they are not required to possess as much skill, so one reason for that condition is that they create a policy that makes it easier for them to organize the workers in that particular industry. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers get a better average wage for their members than most Metal Trades Unions get for their members, and the answer lies in their policies. Some buttonhole makers are actually getting better wages than some union molders; the answer is that they have the full strength of the needle workers in that organization back of them. Get the name "Amalgamated Clothing Workers," a so-called theory put in practice, getting results. Compensation for skill is the "bunk" nowadays. Unskilled workers who are organized are better paid than skilled workers who are unorganized. If you doubt that, look the building laborers over and compare their wages with skilled workers in some of the metal industries where organized workers are successfully barred. The Building Trades workers' wages in many districts are from 25 to 50 per cent higher than many Metal Trades workers, due partly to policies worked out by the different crafts whereby they assist each other in their struggles against their oppressors. When one craft on a building has a grievance and is compelled to stop work,

the other crafts stop with them, hence the contractor becomes more keen for an adjustment of the differences than the workers. That is the kind of cooperation that gets results for the workers. Organizations that are farsighted enough to adopt such policies find that their organizers have better inducements to offer the unorganized than they did when each craft fought its battles alone, with the results of a higher percentage of organization, which causes their employers to recognize them as an organized group of workers. But when a metal trades worker talks amalgamation, or tries to point out the successes of other organizations by putting up a solid front in their particular industry, then he is told by his leaders that he is a theorist, or that such policies could not be applied to metal trades workers. As long as the rank and file keep swallowing that "dope" just that long will the manufacturers keep paying larger dividends and smaller wages, and work their employes longer hours.

The main drawback to the question of amalgamation is that the average trade-unionist in the metal trades does not give the question enough thought. He does not take advantage of the opportunities to become informed on the subject. Some are willing to believe that it means one "big union," others want you to believe that it means the throwing of all craftsmen together in one organization and make one big mess like a "Mulligan stew," and of course, the molder that gives the question no further thought than that, is opposed to it, as it seems a foregone conclusion that the present leaders in the metal trades organizations will not make any attempt to work out any kind of scheme to enable the metal trades workers to get joint action when dealing with their employers. It had to start somewhere else, so a group of metal trades workers met in Chicago on December 9 and 10, 1922, and organized what they called an "International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Industry." This committee has evidently decided to carry on a propaganda campaign, as they have already issued a leaflet in which it sets forth a plan to begin the amalgamation of the metal trades.

I am quoting from a part of the leaflet, under the caption, "Departmentalized Industrial Union."

"Misinformed persons believe that industrial unionism

is a sort of crazy quilt or Mulligan stew. This is a false conception. With a scientific plan of amalgamation, the crafts will not lose their identity. The general body would be divided into several sections, each of which would have a number of subdivisions to correspond to the various divisions of the industry.

"Such a departmentalized industrial union would be able to take care of the interests of the affiliated crafts far more efficiently than at present. Results already attained by amalgamation prove this conclusively. In Germany, for instance, the metal workers are all in one union, which is highly departmentalized. Each craft functions alone in its own field, and yet by virtue of the fact that all the crafts are united in one industrial organization, with only one executive, the whole of the 1,800,000 members can at a given moment be moved as a unit. Last year the German Metal Workers' Union signed agreements with 73,000 firms, covering all kinds of metal work from jewelry making to locomotive building. The interests of each craft were taken care of to the smallest detail. In America, where outside of the railroad shops we have scarcely an agreement at all, this wholesale signing up of the employers seems almost unbelievable.

"The various former craft unions which amalgamated into the German Metal Workers' Union, had a multitude of insurance and fraternal features. To enumerate all the different schemes of dues, premiums, funeral and unemployment benefits, and others, would make one dizzy. Yet these were all handled without the least friction, and at less than half the original cost, through a separate fraternal benefit department. Dare anyone suggest that American brains are not capable of an equal degree of intelligent organization?"

I don't claim that the "International Committee for Amalgamation in the Metal Industry" has the ideal plan, but I do believe that their plan is a workable one, and no doubt we have the necessary brains in our metal trades organizations to work out and improve on it. If the rank and file of the Molders' Union want something done along those lines they should make it known, because I believe that when the rank and file of our organization convince our leaders we are ready for such a move, that the leaders

are wise enough to do the thing that the members make known they want done. So "kick in" with your opinions, pro and con, on the subject, as I expect to be back and talk to you through these columns next month again.

Yours for Progress,

JERRY B. McMUNN.

PART IV. THE GOVERNMENT OF UNIONS

CHAPTER XI

TRADE UNION GOVERNMENT

A. The Constitution of American Trade Unions.

(John Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, pp. 75-6; 81-2, American Book and Bible House, Philadelphia, 1903)

The labor organization as it exists today is the product of a long evolution. Unions did not spring full grown from the brain of man; they were not invented, not contrived. The constitution of the trade union, its by-laws, its customs and traditions, its practices and policies have all been the result of a gradual working out of particular remedies for particular problems.

The constitution of the trade union, moreover, has been evolved by and through the efforts of workingmen. The trade union is a government of workingmen, by workingmen, for workingmen, and the framers of its constitution have been workingmen. Although the supreme law of the union was not formulated by highly paid constitutional lawyers, nevertheless it represents in a clear and definite manner the ideals, purposes, and aims of the great majority of the members of the organization.

The faithfulness with which trade union constitutions represent trade union sentiment is due to the elasticity of these constitutions. The government of trade unions is loose and flexible, and neither constitution nor by-laws are rigidly fixed and immutable. The object of the leaders as of the rank and file of trade unionists, has been to preserve the largest possible elasticity and freedom of movement to the ruling majority of the organization. In trade union

management, there is no tyranny of the "dead hand." Even the most conservative of unions are not bound by a blind unthinking worship of an outgrown instrument, but adjust their form of government to the changing needs and exigencies of the times.

To a certain extent, therefore, the formal written constitution of a trade union is rather a statement of principles and a formulation of the present policy of the union than a hard and fast determination of its future laws. Trade union constitutions are easily changed. The constitution of the United Mine Workers may be altered by a majority vote in convention, and in a large number of other unions the fundamental law of the organization may be changed by a majority vote either of the delegates in convention or of the members voting by referendum, although in some unions a two-thirds vote is necessary.

It is impossible in a brief chapter to give a complete account of any one of the hundred constitutions of national trade unions in the United States. The constitution usually prescribes rules for such matters as eligibility to membership, times for holding meetings, initiation fees, dues and assessments of members, general finances, discipline, laws for expulsion and reinstatement of members, rules for the election of officers, duties of presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, and treasurers, conduct of strikes, lockouts, and boycotts, work of organizers, character and nature of supplies, use of the label, management of the official journal, times and causes for holding general or special conventions, administration of insurance, order of business, and a large number of other matters. The member of a trade union is ordinarily provided with a card to signify his membership and with a badge or button, which in many cases he is expected to wear about his person. Most constitutions provide methods of securing and controlling the collection of dues, the usual system being that of stamps affixed to a book.

B. Three Branches of Government. (op. cit. pp. 79-81)

The government of a national labor organization, like the government of the United States, is composed of executive, legislative and judicial departments. The power to

direct and administer its affairs is entrusted to representatives selected by the local unions. These executive powers are vested in a president and a board of directors; the legislative, in a delegate convention, while the judicial function devolves upon the president or secretary of the organization, with the right of appeal to the executive board. The legislation of the national union is carried on by means of conventions composed of delegates from the various locals, or by the actual votes of the members of the union themselves. The representation of the locals is in some organizations based entirely upon the number of the members, resembling in this respect the representation of the various states in the United States House of Representatives. The majority of unions, however, give the larger locals a less than proportionate representation in the national convention; for illustration, the Brotherhood of Carpenters gives one vote to a local having 100 members or less, two votes to locals having from 100 to 500 members, three votes to locals having from 500 to 1,000 members, and four votes to locals having over one thousand members. This system of giving the various locals a number of representatives increasing with their membership, but not increasing in proportion, is somewhat like the representation of the various states of the country in the electoral college, or in the nominating conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties. The conventions, like the meetings of the locals, are conducted in a broad and democratic spirit. The ordinary laws of parliamentary procedure are adhered to, but no attempt is made at "gag" rule, and every opportunity is afforded to all delegates to present fully the wishes and claims of their respective locals. Generally speaking, especially in the older and more firmly established organizations, the expenses of the conventions, including the railroad fares to and from the place of meeting, are defrayed by the national union.

In some organizations, the system of government is even more democratic. In many unions, there is a growing tendency to legislate by means of the referendum, and to limit as much as possible the frequency of conventions. Ordinarily, conventions are called annually, but in several unions they are called but once in two, three, four or five years, and in the case of the Granite Cutters there has been

no convention since the year 1880. Legislation in some unions may be proposed by a given number of members or by the executive and may then be acted upon by the vote of the entire membership. Much of the legislation of a number of the unions is carried on in this way, and in a large percentage of organizations amendments to the constitution are adopted either by a referendum vote alone or by the action of the convention supplemented by a referendum vote. In other unions, including the Boot and Shoe Workers, the Cigar Makers, the Tailors, the Bakers and the Mine Workers, officers are elected by referendum vote, with the result that lobbying and electioneering at the convention are done away with and the delegates are permitted to devote themselves exclusively to the more important business of the organization.

The officials of the national trade unions, whether elected in convention or by referendum, consist usually of a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary or a secretary-treasurer, and an executive board, who are ordinarily elected for a term of one or two years, but may be, and in many instances are, reelected. The President of the Carpenters held office for twenty years, and the late Mr. Arthur remained Chief of the Locomotive Engineers for twenty-nine years. In the United Mine Workers this tendency of constantly reelecting the same president has been less manifest—prior to my incumbency the term of office with one exception never exceeded two years.

The chief officials of the national trade unions are almost invariably on salary and devote their entire time to the work of the organization. In the case of the railroad brotherhoods, the rates of remuneration are high, amounting in some cases to \$6,000 per year, but with this exception, I believe, no national officer receives a higher salary than \$3,000. The probable range of salaries for trade union president lies, at the present time (1903), between \$1,000 and \$1,800, although in a number of organizations the pay of officials is still less.¹ Officers' salaries are regulated to a considerable extent by the numerical strength of the unions or by the wages of its members. In a few national unions having a limited membership the executive officers work at

¹ Salaries of union officials have increased considerably since 1903, having doubled and in some instances trebled. (Editor.)

their trades, and in these cases their remuneration is purely nominal.

C. The Legislative Branch.

1. MEMBERSHIP FAILS TO APPRECIATE IMPORTANCE OF REFERENDUM

(Taken from an article by John P. Frey in *International Molders' Journal*, June, 1924, pp. 359-60)

There are but two ways by which the members can make and amend the laws which govern them. One is through the actions of a convention, and the other through the initiative and referendum. The latter gives to the membership the opportunity of amending any law enacted by a convention, and in addition the power to enact legislation between conventions whenever a necessity arises.

If the delegates to a convention absented themselves in large numbers during the daily sessions, or failed to vote on the questions coming before the convention, the local unions that elected them would have the best of grounds for dissatisfaction and criticism. When members fail to register their votes in connection with a referendum they are, in substance and effect, showing an indifference which is as culpable as that of a delegate to the convention who failed to take part in the convention's work or record his opinion by his vote.

The record of the fourteen referendum votes taken since January 1st, 1918, shows that the smallest number of local unions recorded as having sent in no vote was seventy, and the highest number two hundred and sixty. This latter vote, taken in 1921, shows that over half of our local unions failed to send in any vote whatsoever. The average number of local unions that failed to send in any vote on the fourteen referendums is one hundred and seventeen. Stating it in another way, our referendums have shown that practically one-fourth of the local unions have failed to send in any vote. It is not to be expected that all of the members of every local union will be present at a meeting when a referendum vote is taken, but there can be no excuse for a local union failing to send in a vote, no matter how small it may be. During the last six years there have been referendums which showed less than

five thousand, six hundred members voting, and there have been several with less than ten thousand.

Men do not vote unless they have an interest, and the record of the referendum votes in the last six years indicates a very great lack of interest on the part of a large number of the members. This is not a healthful condition. It is not good for any organization to have a question decided by a vote in which more than one-half of the local unions have failed to participate. The results of a referendum affect every member, and every member should show his interest by recording his vote. The referendum to be of service must be used. Like many other most excellent provisions, it is of no value unless it is applied, and misapplied or unapplied it becomes like a valuable piece of machinery used for a wrong purpose or allowed to rust through inaction. The initiative and referendum is altogether too important a part of the organization's methods to be carelessly permitted to remain idle when the time comes for its application, as has been done by the members of so many local unions.

2. REFERENDUM SHOULD NOT SUPPLANT CONVENTIONS

(Taken from "The Cigarmakers' Convention," by Samuel Gompers, in *American Federationist*, November, 1912, pp. 903, 907)

The story of the Cigarmakers' International Union convention recently held in Baltimore, lasting three weeks, is one of the interesting chapters in the labor movement of America. The international union had not held a convention for over sixteen years, but had transacted its business, including the nomination and election of officers, by the initiative and referendum. If any one fact was more clearly demonstrated than another, it was the necessity of international unions holding conventions oftener than the cigarmakers have held theirs.

Between the time of the previous convention of 1896 and the one of 1912 three elections for officers had taken place by the initiative and referendum, and during these campaigns and in the interim, a persistent effort had been made to discredit the officers and create suspicion and destroy confidence in them, without the slightest opportunity for these officers to defend themselves against the

slandrous insinuations against them and the suspicions aroused as to their course. In addition, the international president and the executive board have been required, under the law, to render decisions. Often these decisions, when adverse, were not taken kindly by those against whom they were rendered. These also had been the cause of creating considerable bitter feeling.

Efforts were made by some local unions to hold a convention, but according to the interpretations of many of the slander-mongers these efforts were opposed by the officers of the international union. As a matter of fact, under the law, a two-third vote of the referendum was required to order a convention, and it was impossible to secure the two-third vote. Consequently one local union proposed a change in the law so that but a majority of the referendum should be empowered to call for a convention. That amendment was adopted. A proposition was then submitted for holding a convention and was carried. President Perkins and the other officers were in favor of a convention, but preferred the membership to decide for themselves without being influenced. After the convention was ordered, a proposition was made to defer holding it. President Perkins wrote an editorial in the official journal against deferring, and the proposition to defer was defeated, and the convention was duly held.

My final word to the members of the Cigarmakers' International Union is, don't allow another sixteen years to roll by before holding another convention. The same advice applies equally to all other internationals.

CHAPTER XII

AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

A. Discipline is Foundation of Successful Unionism.

(Taken from annual report of President James O'Connell, *Metal Trades Department, Proceedings, 1915*, p. 5)

Discipline within the ranks of labor is one of the essential requisites for success. To attain a high standard of efficiency and the permanent growth of organization, not only the individual members, but the local unions must carry out to the letter the requirements of their constituted laws.

Of course, we should not expect the impossible, nor to establish unreasonable standards, but that the members should realize fully the obligation they owe to their respective organizations goes without saying. They should be willing to give the same allegiance and loyalty to their trades union that they freely give to their fraternal societies.

Discipline should convey to us the idea that we are no longer acting as individuals, but that we are a part of an association of individuals who have agreed upon certain laws and rules by which we are to be governed. To set aside these laws and rules at the whim and caprice of some individual, or a number of individuals, may, for the time being, prove successful, but in the end the organization and the movement will suffer as a result.

Frequently the members smart and grow impatient under what seems to them to be red tape and unnecessary delay. The experiences of the past, however, if taken as a guide, indicate that less progress has been made, more disastrous results recorded by far than where the so-called red tape and delay has been accepted, the proper opportunity given for investigation and an attempt at adjustment of our grievances, thereby bringing to our aid the full support and cooperation of our international organizations.

It is very disagreeable for international officers to deny their members of their local unions, when involved in a strike or controversy with an employer, the benefits provided in the various constitutions because the law of the organization has not been complied with. Yet, as a rule, there is no other alternative for these officers, as they are the duly sworn officers of the organization, entrusted with seeing to it that the constitution of the internationals has been fully complied with.

B. The Need for Capable Leaders.

(Taken from "Leadership of Labor Unions," in *Pattern Makers' Journal*, October, 1904, p. 7)

Much of the unfortunate experience of trade unions has been due to poor leadership, and this is not surprising in view of the narrow conception among laborers of the intellectual and moral equipment for trade union leadership. It has always been an unfortunate characteristic of workingmen that, while they ask for high wages, they are unwilling to pay high wages to their own representatives. Some improvement in this respect has taken place during the last ten or fifteen years, but it is still the prevalent notion that those who work to advance labor interests are but scantily worthy of the hire.

In order to get first-class leaders the union must pay first-class salaries. That is the only way the corporations can enlist capable men in their service, and trade unions can accomplish the same results only by doing likewise. It is not essential that the president of the national labor organization should be taken from the bench.

He should not be elected because he is the best shoemaker or the finest carpenter, but because of his knowledge and ability to understand and present the principles and interest involved in trade union purposes and policies.

C. Trials and Tribulations of Labor Leaders.

(Taken from an address by William P. Clarke, Printed in *The American Flint*, April, 1921, pp. 9-15)

There are indeed comparatively few who really understand the trials and tribulations of a leader in the Trade Union Movement. It is easy enough to sit in judgment,

and to say what should and should not be done; but if those same self-selected judges were placed in the position of responsibility, to be judged themselves rather than judge, I am sure they would hold a far different view of the matter.

Let me ask you to pause and with an open and un-biased mind analyze the position of a leader of men. Here you have a labor organization in which men and women working in a given industry are eligible for membership. Immediately on admittance each individual, as a rule, is placed on an equal footing with the leader in the movement. All are on equality; one having as much right as the other to say what the policy of the organization shall be. The membership is scattered from one end of the continent to the other and not infrequently you will find some of the men imbued with the idea that the sentiment prevailing in their particular locality should shape the policy of the organization, while from numerous other districts where the craft is employed will be presented plans that are at variance with those already under consideration. And in the face of these conflicting opinions each believes theirs to be the correct solution for prevailing ills. During all this time, however, the leader in the movement is applying his energies in trying to reach a happy adjustment and unite the membership.

But do you realize what a task confronts men charged with such responsibilities? Are you aware of the obstacles they must surmount? Has it ever occurred to you that when leaders in the movement are being censured and condemned that a grave injustice may be done those individuals? Have you ever ascertained whenever irresponsible "rumors" are afloat whether they are true or false, or do you go on the theory that because one Brindell was proven guilty, consequently all are guilty? If so, then remember that you are doing a grave injustice to the leaders of organized labor and to that splendid body of men who go to make up its membership.

The leaders in the Trade Union Movement should not be judged by this one exceptional instance I have cited. Do you judge your ministers, doctors, lawyers and leaders in other walks of life by the standard set by the criminals that comprise but a small percentage of their respective callings?

Not at all. Then why select the leaders in the Trade Union Movement to apply every odium that will traduce their esteem in the eyes of their fellow citizens and jeopardize the noble cause for which they stand sponsor?

No apology is necessary on my part when defending the principles of this movement, and I know of no service that is more noble than that of honest, upright, fearless leadership in the Trade Union Movement, with the exception of serving Almighty God. The leader in this movement deals with material things; he pleads the cause of the oppressed; he speaks for those who cannot speak for themselves; he champions the interest of the downtrodden; he exposes wrongs and demands right and justice; he protects the innocent against imposition; he strives to bring more sunshine into the homes and lives of present and future generations—in short, his life and service are dedicated to mankind and nowhere has this been more clearly demonstrated than in these United States.

No one could feel more keenly the position that I occupy tonight than I do. In this hall at this very moment the workers are hoping that some words may drop from my lips that shall serve to brighten the situation that now confronts the Flint Glass Industry, or at least, point to the approach of a better day; while in another part of the hall are manufacturers who will weigh and scrutinize every syllable I utter to ascertain if there is some ray of hope behind my thoughts that might aid in solving the problem.

On my arrival in New York I found among my mail a copy of the propositions that the workers are to present to the manufacturers as changes to our wage scales, and in nearly every instance increases in wages approximating 25 per cent are being asked for. Yet when I reached my office a few hours later I was handed a copy of a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Manufacturers' Association urging that a conference be called immediately to legislate for a reduction in wages in each and every department of our organization, and this notwithstanding that none of our agreements will expire until the fifth day of September.

During the war we were able to conduct our affairs in a manner that reflected credit on our joint relations. Now, what of the future? How will these differences be bridged? Do you think it possible to please both sides? One side

must be disappointed. What is to be the prime factor in contributing to this disappointment? How will the defeated side take this disappointment? If the request of the manufacturers for a reduction in wages is refused will they lock out the workers, or if the wishes of the workers for an increase in wages are not complied with, will they go out on strike? This is just one of the many questions that confront honest, upright, fearless leaders who take into consideration the financial loss that follows conflicts and the sufferings that must be endured.

And in this connection I might state we have another element represented in this hall tonight, and I am happy to see them here. I refer to the business men. They, too, and justly so, have a right to an opportunity to learn the facts, so that they may take their soundings. For the American Flint Glass Workers' Union I would have you understand that we are perfectly agreeable to laying bare the facts. We have nothing to conceal. Neither are we willing to admit that the men who comprise this industry as a whole are receiving anything to which they are not entitled for the skill and labor they expend. This can best be understood by stating that it requires practically ten years of the life of the average worker in order that he may acquire the knowledge and experience that is necessary to follow his trade as a skilled mechanic, and for this toil the average wage for all the men employed in this industry between June 1, 1919, and June 1, 1920, was \$30.63 per man per week. Do you consider this an exorbitant wage? If you do, then I most emphatically disagree with you.

In guiding the destinies of the workers in our organization I have always been an advocate of peace, but I here and now declare that, regardless of our desire for conciliation, I shall not stand idly by and allow injustice to be practiced on the men whom I speak for if it is humanly possible for me to prevent it. No, I have not absorbed a lot of radical ideas while abroad, but there are abuses being practiced in our industry that must cease or there will not be peace.

For my part I am not fearful that the trade union movement in America will be destroyed, but if it is pulled down by its enemies its ruins shall form the foundation for a structure that will be so powerful and so enduring that

those who are now aiming to destroy it will rue the day their hopes were realized.

In bringing my remarks to a close, let me ask you: Is there anyone within hearing of my voice who believes that a summary reduction in wages, the adoption of the open shop policy, or any of the other sentimental ideas that are being advanced will cure the ills that affect us owing to the unsettled industrial situation in which we are now placed?

Let not the manufacturers and the workers engaged in the flint glass industry be swayed by passion, prejudice or sentiment. We must weather this storm through which we are now passing, suffer the temporary sacrifices necessary to preserve our industry, so that when the opportunity does come we can continue our relations in the same harmonious manner that has characterized our dealings with each other in the days of prosperity.

D. The Rocky Road of the Organizer.

(Taken from a letter from an organizer, in *Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer*, November, 1910, p. 254)

The work of an organizer among the working classes, be they practical mechanics or the unskilled laborers, has never been given the consideration that it deserves. It is beyond the understanding of the majority of our members. Many are the opinions and widely different have they been expressed. Oftentimes I have heard it said that to be an organizer was but an easy job. In other words, "a soft snap." And numerous are the aspirants for the job. But, to my way of thinking, and from bitter experience during the past years, it is everything but "a soft snap." The ground an organizer has to travel over is not a bed of roses; thorny and rocky is his path. Obstacles are indeed numerous and almost insurmountable in the way of opposition. He has to combat with bitter and unreasoning enemies of trade organizations. Hence, to be successful, or come near the word success, much hard labor and self-sacrifice must be endured.

A most uncomfortable job! And when I say this I believe I express the very sentiments of those who have from time to time been deputized for such work. In the

attempt to persuade or convince those outside to become organized or identify themselves with those already organized, it must be done in the most amicable, amiable and temperate mode of expression, and colored in the most diplomatic manner. Otherwise, those to whom he may be speaking will get warm under the collar, and the organizer is then and there branded as an agitator and disturber of the peace, and all such arguments and opposition to becoming members he meets with day after day, and very often those who are members of some union will stand idly by in silence, rather than cooperate with him. And without the cooperation of those within the ranks of organized labor little can really be accomplished.

Our inequalities we are born with. We can not help that we differ from others in physique, disposition, temperament, ability, talent, ambition, perseverance, character and many other personal qualities that always exist. Therefore, we naturally differ and disagree in our views with an officer as an organizer and the feasibility of his plans. But withal that we can and should, as members, be as one man in our proclaiming what organization has done for us and is doing. This, combined with agitation whenever an organizer is around or within a jurisdiction, would do much toward strengthening and encouraging him in his work.

E. The Need for the Business Agent and His Difficult Task.
(Taken from "The Business Agent," in *Iron Molders' Journal*, November, 1900, p. 651)

This business agent is a product of the development of the trades union movement in large centers. He became particularly conspicuous in New York during the regime of the Board of Walking Delegates, and many were the screeds against him and his methods appearing in the press of the metropolitan district. It is to these exaggerated stories we might largely attribute the disfavor into which this "genus homo" has fallen elsewhere. But as we have said, this objectionable personage is the product of orderly development. The fact of the matter is that the business interests of certain communities of trades unionists became so extensive that they were not receiving proper attention from men who, besides attending to these interests had to

work every day for a living, and they very wisely determined to employ a man who would give his undivided attention to them. By virtue of his office, the business agent became the representative of the union or unions which employ him and is in reality their executive officer. Necessarily considerable power is vested in his hands, and he is saddled with such heavy responsibilities as can only be safely intrusted to a man of firmness, tact, and even temperament. Such a one is not always selected, and his mistakes and impulsiveness sometimes involve those whom he represents in trouble which, had their interests been in more capable hands, would have been avoided. We are not prepared to say that all of the charges made against business agents are unmerited, but we have every reason to know that many of the charges against them are exaggerated and are born of the ill-disguised hostility which the complainants feel toward organized labor itself. As a rule, too, the employer who is disposed to deal fairly with his men, who is willing to pay the wages agreed upon and to take no advantage of them, gets along very well with a business agent or any other representative of the union. He has no little schemes to conceal, he is not conniving to overreach his men at this point or at that, or to take advantage of some technicality in the wording of an agreement, so why should he be afraid of the visit of a business agent? He is dealing fair and will be fairly dealt by. His own men would not permit any other policy.

There is a whole lot of fudge about the objections employers urge against outside interference in the conduct of their business, and as we have already intimated, it is just a roundabout way of expressing their antagonism to organized labor. It is certainly most inconsistent on the part of an employer who either individually or in association with others does business with the organization representing his men to refuse to have any dealings with their authorized representatives in the person of their business agents, or to throw obstacles in the way of the performance of his duties. If he were received courteously and negotiated with in a friendly way, we are much mistaken if there would not be smoother sailing and better feeling all around.

But the fault is not all on the employer's side, for, as if he did not suffer enough from their unfriendliness, the

business agent has often to endure the slurs and criticisms of those he represents. He may be doing his best to keep the peace, he may be using all his tact to prevent friction, but his motives will be misunderstood by some and he will be abused and criticized by many who have not taken the beam from their own eyes. This is naturally "the most unkindest cut of all." He has grown to expect vilification and abuse from the employer, but why should it be even so from his own people? If he finds against them in any dispute, he is "standing in" with the boss. If he asks their assistance in an emergency, he is paid to do it. If he wears decent clothes and looks respectable, he is doing it out of our hard-earned money. Did you ever think how unfair it all is and put a curb on that unruly member, the tongue?

It appears, then, as if the much-reviled business agent were between the upper and nether stones of the mill and that the difficulties of his position are not sufficiently understood and appreciated. But we are firmly convinced that in localities where a business agent can be afforded and wisdom is displayed in selecting a man to fill the position who has more to recommend him than a loud mouth, the business of the locals employing him will be better performed; and if the employers will but sink their unreasoning and unmerited prejudice and negotiate important matters through him, they will find affairs in the foundry proceed more satisfactorily and with less annoyance to themselves than formerly. The business agent is the men's accredited representative or attorney, and he should be received and treated as such.

F. The Rôle of the Member.

(Taken from "Ethics of Union Membership," reprinted from *Shoe Workers' Journal in Painter and Decorator*, December, 1923, pp. 537-40)

Existing conditions and our mode of living make it essential for the toiling masses to be organized in unions, for the purpose of establishing and maintaining suitable working conditions and obtaining fair wages. All unions are divided into and subdivided into various smaller local unions. The local unions are the backbone of the entire workingman's organizations. If the local unions are strong, the whole union will be strong. For the local union to be

strong it is essential that the membership is strong. For the membership to be strong it is necessary that they attend meetings of their local union and take an active part in the meetings and be guided by their own deliberations. It is well to do as our fathers did, "to know our rights and dare maintain them." But duties are coordinate with rights. Men will not fight for their union rights who have no sense of their union duties.

Rights can not be maintained if duties are neglected. They go together, and in our union life of today it is essential that emphasis be laid upon our duties rather than upon our rights. When a man, for instance, looks upon voting as a "right" instead of a duty, he is apt to regard his vote as his property, to be used as something of his own, to do with as he chooses, without due responsibility. A man's vote is his union's—a sovereign weapon entrusted to him, not merely for the protection of his own rights, but to be used for defense for his union's interest. He is duty bound to use it for the defense of the weak and for the protection of the union's welfare.

In our union, as in a democratic state, rights can not be secured unless they have their foundations in the righteousness of union life. In a republic under universal suffrage—under "government by the people"—there are certain requirements essential and fundamental to the continued safety of the national life.

The members of a local union must be intelligent. If the membership in a union expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization it expects what never was and never can be. The members should strive to establish an education as universal as the liberty, which should be held to be the heritage of all men. The membership may be ignorant and depraved under despotism where they have no power or responsibility, but a union with universal suffrage ought to provide for universal education. "Popular government of our union without popular education is but a prologue to a farce, or a tragedy, or both." If the designs of the false leader and the pleas of the wily demagogue are to be exposed, it must be by educated intelligence. Every true union man will, therefore, do all he can to promote the general intelligence of the membership of his local.

The membership of a local union must be virtuous. Moral character is the foundation of the union. If the membership's rectitude and integrity are sapped and undermined, the foundation is gone. No union can live when the sources of its power have become corrupted. As long as the hearts of the membership are right, the union is safe. But when springs of our union life are poisoned, the inevitable result is decay and dissolution, and the outcome is the men on top with the iron hand of despotism, or a plutocracy where the people cringe and fawn at the behest of those who have money, or places, or favors to bestow. The membership of a local union must be free. They must not be restrained by power, they must not be bound by groups, they must not be bought by favor. This involves free speech, free petition, a free ballot. Without these there can be no free thought, and without freedom to think there can be no freedom in union government.

Every member will seek to preserve this liberty at all hazards. Liberty of speech and of the press (circularizing, etc.) may be abused, but it is safer to run the risk of this abuse, holding every man responsible for the effect of his words, rather than suffer the denial of freedom. However, this freedom should be confined within the unions.

The membership of the local union must be loyal. Loyalty is love of the union. It is the union spirit—the spirit that leads one to devote himself to the service of one's union, but the higher, nobler moral courage that will lead him if need be to oppose his union's government in wrongful and immoral courses. The primary and fundamental habits of union loyalty have been summarized as follows:

To strive to know what is best for one's union as a whole. The loyal member will not be content to be ignorant of his union's welfare. He will seek to know something of the offices of his union and their workings; of the needs of his local and its management; of the constitution and by-laws and their requirements; of the various officers and their duties; of the history of his union and its great men, and of the principles and services for which they stood.

To place one's union interest, when one knows it, above group, or class, or sectional, or selfish interest.

To be willing to take trouble, personal and even tedious pains, for the well governing of one's union. Whatever one belongs to, be it local, sub-district, district or the union as a whole, loyalty involves the willingness of service and sacrifice for the common good.

Loyalty does not stop with obedience to the constitution and by-laws and the payment of dues. Loyalty is not passive—a mere abstaining from evil. It is not merely an abstract definition of feeling. It requires expression, not merely in words, but in action, in deeds. The loyal member is "the one who serves." He may serve his local in attending conventions and in many other ways.

Loyalty is a virtue which leads a man to sacrifice himself for the good of his union. It is not loyalty to flatter one's own brothers or to assure them that they are right in what they are doing. That is merely swimming with stream, one of the most alluring forms of indolence. A man is not a loyalist because he desires that the local to which he belongs shall be aggrandized at the expense of other locals to which he does not belong. To desire the success of a cause because it is his own, and not because it is right, is a form of selfishness in man. "My local, right or wrong," is no more loyal than "Myself, right or wrong," is noble and unselfish.

In addition to intelligence, virtue, freedom and loyalty, and in order to maintain these, the membership of the local union must have religion. Not an established church, nor a religion imposed, but each member to his own particular faith or belief, with religion and the essentials of religious unity in the hearts of the membership. Religion is defined as "the life of God in the soul of man." The life of God must be in the soul of the union. The union has a soul; it is not only morality and virtue, and therefore of its spiritual life are its religion. Morality and religion are inseparable forces. Faith in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are the greater savers. Its influence has tended to give the membership unity of moral ideas, to prevent social separateness and class strife; to promote brotherhood and equality of opportunities; to establish justice, insure local tranquillity; provide for the common defense, and insure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

These fundamental moral qualities in a local union will produce in the membership a love of order and a reverence for law, as set forth in the constitution and by-laws.

Law and order are essential parts to true union freedom. Union government is paramount to every interest, for upon all this all other interests depend. There can be no freedom without it. The long struggle of our fathers to establish the various organizations would be in vain if the members did not perpetuate their good work in an efficient way. Their struggle was to establish union liberty by union government by the union membership instead of by one man or a group of men; therefore the constitution and by-laws. To any great and fundamental change in law and union government the membership must proceed by the processes and under restraints of the constitution and by-laws. It is when union government by law is endangered that the rights and liberties of the membership are most seriously threatened.

The reverence for law will cultivate in the majority a righteous respect for the rights of the minority; it will make life and all just rights of members more sacred; and in times of change it will make the membership radical only when they are sure they are right and wisely conservative from fear of injustice and wrong.

The same qualities will bring leadership to the membership. Without safe leadership popular union government is impossible. The masses can not act except under direction. A multitude of advisers may lead to safety, but without wise guidance the members fall. If the membership can not find capable leaders of courage, of educated intelligence, of rectitude and unswerving devotion to the membership's interest, they will be helpless before the classes that represent cunning and power and that would exploit and oppress the membership for selfish ends. There is no form of government in which rectitude in leadership and office is more vital than in a union government. The membership may mean well and would do right, but they must have great thinkers for the solution of their problems and bold and devoted leaders for the execution of these solutions. Agitators and demagogues often proclaim themselves for a popular cause and declaim on the membership's

wrongs, but as soon as they get power and place the rich and powerful classes buy them from their allegiance and induce them to betray their trust.

Attend your local meetings.

G. Responsibility of the Individual Member.

(Taken from "Duty of the Individual Member,"
by Robert Fechner, in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*,
January, 1917, p. 47)

It is generally conceded that the most important work of the organization is that of extending and strengthening the membership and at the same time developing a greater interest in the work of the Association by its individual members. Of course, the primary purpose of a labor union is to reduce hours, increase wages and better working conditions for its members. A careful study of the accomplishments of our Association proves that these results are more easily and consistently obtained in localities or industries where the general membership takes an active interest in the work and each one does his part to make it a success.

In all the years of my activity in the work of the Association, during which time I have travelled and worked in almost every state except the Pacific Coast, I have been impressed with the attitude of the average member whenever the question of getting a wage increase, better conditions for the men, or building up the membership came up for discussion. The first thought that usually enters the mind of the members is to make a motion that the International president be requested to send someone to bring about the desired results, and the motion usually goes through without any debate.

In my opinion this is all wrong. I believe the best and most effective work can be achieved by the men themselves, and my opinion is supported by the evidence of results obtained in localities where the men have done their own work.

The average member does not think he can accomplish anything because he has never really tried. Because he has never done anything, he thinks he can not do anything. He is usually so easily discouraged; he quits before he really gets a fair start.

But the man who gives careful consideration to the

question of what he, individually, can accomplish and decides to make a modest start, not giving up until he reaches his goal, is the man who is pushing the I. A. of M. forward, and whose example is worth more than anything else I know of in encouraging others to do likewise.

Now, it seems to me every member should remember that he pledges himself to attend the meetings of his local whenever it is in his power to do so. The meetings are not held for the purpose of punishing the member, but in order to carefully consider questions of vital interest to him. Surely, he could not spend a few hours twice, or, at the most four times, a month to better advantage.

The tendency to make our meetings interesting by the introduction of special features, either educational or social, is rapidly growing and should be encouraged. I think a greater effort should be made to get the individual member interested in the work. Nothing offers such complete satisfaction to a man and of which he should be so keenly proud, as the knowledge that he has done something to help in the great work. Once a man has experienced this satisfaction it is seldom necessary to urge him on. There is no work which carries its own reward to the same extent as does the work of building up the labor movement.

We are starting a new year. In a great many lodges new officers will be entrusted with the welfare of the members. It is only natural that the new officers should desire to make their administration the most successful ever experienced by the local and those officers who have been reelected will want to improve their record.

H. Obligations to Fair Employers.

(An editorial, "Responsibility," reprinted from *Cigar Makers' Official Journal in United Mine Workers' Journal*, January 1, 1920, p. 14)

More democracy in industry carries with it responsibility just in proportion to the degree of democracy we demand and exercise. When demanding fair union wages, we expect to, and do, give the equivalent in the work performed. In demanding and having a say in working and shop conditions the same rule applies, that is, we must and do carry our share of the responsibility for the success of the enterprise.

One of the causes of friction and pronounced opposition of the employees to this just and equitable arrangement is a few mischief makers who refuse to assume the responsibility and whose chief desire seems to be to destroy industry as conducted under the present plan of production and distribution. The great mass of the workers are right-minded, just and fair, and can be depended upon to do their full share of work and to assume their full share of responsibility. The men and women, however, of industry, of that mind and temperament know that labor can not be driven beyond a certain point without endangering health and longevity. With the elimination of unscientific and unnecessary waste and the turn-over system in industry, better wages can be paid and better conditions obtained and without increasing the cost of production. The really sensible thing is for right-minded employes to see the new light and to deal with and go along with the constructive trade union movement.

CHAPTER XIII

TRADE UNION FINANCE

A. Union Funds are Life Blood of Organization.

(Taken from an editorial in *Cigar Makers' Official Journal*, June 15, 1908, p. 8)

The funds of the International Union are the life blood and backbone of the organization; they constitute strength, stability and permanency. Any attempt to weaken the financial system by lavish expenditure, increase of benefits and other schemes which tend to impair the reserve fund, are a source of danger that can not be underestimated.

When a member pays into an organization for years, he has both a moral and legal right to demand a guarantee for his payments in the shape of benefits. The guarantee must be absolute and maintained under any and all conditions. To depart from this standard of absolute security constitutes misrepresentation, fraud and dishonesty, and can not be contemplated for one single moment.

The other benefits pledged in the constitution are of equal importance, and must be paid faithfully and promptly.

Again we say a high reserve fund constitutes the backbone and life blood of the International Union.

B. Large Defense Fund Essential to Effective Unionism.

(Taken from "Finances of Trade Unions," by J. W. Hays, in *American Federationist*, February, 1916, p. 117)

The Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor directed that a discussion of higher dues be published in the issues of the *American Federationist*, and a number of representatives of international and national organizations having expressed their views upon the question of finances, I deem it expedient to say just a few words

regarding the finances and dues of the International Typographical Union.

During the years of 1905, 1906 and 1907, the International Typographical Union went through a most strenuous period in its efforts to secure the eight-hour workday. When this campaign started, the fight was forced upon the organization by an association of employing printers when the treasury of the International Typographical Union was at a low ebb, evidently with the idea that if the organization was forced to spend the small amount of money it had in its possession it would be unable to make a successful fight for the shorter day. During this campaign the members of the organization learned the value of a good treasury. When the money then on hand was expended it became necessary to levy assessments, and while this fight cost the organization practically four million dollars, every cent of it was paid by members of the International Typographical Union with the exception of about forty thousand dollars that was raised through assessment levied by the A. F. of L. Of course, it is needless to say to the readers of the *Federationist* that the campaign of the International Typographical Union for the shorter workday was successful, as that is a well-known fact. However, this campaign brought out more forcefully the benefits of being provided for any emergency that may arise to confront a labor organization. I say, therefore, to all organizations, first organize the people working at your craft. I favor low initiation fees and high dues. Educational campaigns are of much value and the educated trade unionist realizes the benefit of high dues and pays them willingly.

There is no agent so effective in maintaining peace and securing betterments for members as the knowledge that an organization is possessed of a large defense fund.

C. High Dues and Paid Union Officers Spell Success.

(Taken from an editorial in *Pattern Makers' Journal*, September, 1905, p. 7)

Perhaps the greatest question that confronts the people in all manner of business is where to get the money to conduct a successful business. In the trade union we can look for our revenue in but one way—through the weekly dues of the membership of the organization. The trade union being

an organization that has set out to accomplish the betterment of the condition of the worker, it is purely the business of the member. They draw the dividends every week in their pay envelopes, and secure less hours of employment through their connection with a trade union.

The pattern makers of this country are certainly receiving a full return for all the money they are paying into the organization.

It should hardly be necessary for me to advance any argument here to support my recommendation for an increase of the weekly dues of our League. In 1896 New York Association caused the 934 members of the League to look in wonder at the action they took. With 63 members on the books they raised their dues and elected an agent to devote all his time to the work of the Association. In one year they had 350 members thereby proving that like every other business it was necessary to have it looked after. In 1898, at the St. Louis Convention, a radical departure was taken from the previous cheap methods, and the dues increased. At that convention the membership in the League was 1,281. High dues were looked upon as the death blow to our League. The Executive Board put the General President, L. R. Thompson, on the road in 1899, and at the Buffalo Convention in 1900, the membership of the League was 2,292, showing a large gain with high dues. At this convention the dues were placed at twenty-five cents per week and provisions made for the General President and the General Secretary-Treasurer to be placed under salary. Then came the internal strife that stopped for a time our progress. Associations became convinced of the fact that if they could have an agent they would have greater results. Consequently many cities raised their dues even higher than twenty-five cents per week, and elected agents, and all such organizations have not only made greater headway on the point of membership, but have likewise raised wages and shortened the hours of labor to a greater degree than have the cities that have retained the twenty-five cents dues. Brothers, we, as pattern makers, must not fear progress in the line of high dues. It has been clearly proven by all high dues organizations that it pays, and none can show better results than the organizations we represent today.

D. High Dues Make it Possible to Weather Storms During Depressions.

(Taken from Report of the Committee on President's Report, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1900, p. 112)

It is gratifying to note the large increase in organization during the past year, and it is a guarantee of what may be hoped for in the future, as the underlying and guiding principles of the trade union movement become better and better understood. We trust that but a small part of the increase partakes of the nature of the dew, to be found on the grass in the early morning, and which vanishes with the heat of the day. Members of organized labor must learn that this is a work-a-day world, in which there is nothing for nothing, and that progress is in proportion to burdens willingly borne, and to sacrifices loyally made. Organizations whose members refuse to pay sufficiently high dues, in times of peace, to assist those who are suffering on the march and to provide the means to care for the wounded during the struggle, usually vanish during industrial panics, leaving their wounded helpless on the field, to be cared for by the employers, and then temporarily used by them. Organizations which have learned that we must bear each other's burdens, whether we will or not, and which act upon this principle, thereby prove their fitness to survive, and from the contests, as they come and go, emerge with mutual confidence increased, hence, a stronger and more active life.

E. Build Up Reserve During Prosperity.

(Taken from President Gompers' Report, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1900, p. 22)

During the present industrial era, it is not so difficult to organize and extend organizations; but with the periodically recurring eras of industrial crises, panics and stagnation, the maintenance of numerical strength should cause us concern. Apart from the benefits referred to being of such necessary value to the members of our respective trade unions, and the advantages which come with the permanent membership in the organizations, there has no process thus far been demonstrated which will so effectively prevent the loss of membership during dull periods as the payment of high dues in the unions, the building up of large treasuries to be held by the organizations themselves, available for

the protection of the members in all casualties which may befall them. Besides, the benefits to which the members are entitled convince them that their interests are furthered by remaining members, while at the same time their continued membership and unity are a constant check to the tendency during such periods to force reduction in wages, and other obnoxious conditions.

This question of high dues, large treasuries in the unions, and benefits to the members, is one which, although it has made considerable progress, is not generally understood or introduced; and it is therefore urged upon all organized labor to take this matter under advisement in order to make provisions on the lines indicated. There is no one factor so largely contributory to the progress and advancement of the labor movement, the protection and promotion of the interests of the workers, and the inculcation of the principles of fraternal unity, as these features in the trade union movement.

F. Fatal to Reduce Dues During Depression.

(Taken from "Don't Destroy the Efficiency of our Brotherhood," in *Boilermakers' and Iron Ship Builders' Journal*, September, 1921, pp. 331-2)

It has been the general policy of the editor in the past to refrain from commenting on constitutional changes offered for the consideration and referendum vote of our members, and we would not deviate from this course, at this time, were it not that we are confronted with a far-reaching proposition, which if adopted, would be a step backward and seriously cripple the efficiency of our Brotherhood in the future. We refer to the amendment to reduce the per capita tax from the present rates to that which prevailed from 1912 to October last. In 1912 when the per capita tax was placed at one dollar for mechanics and sixty cents for helpers and apprentices, the rates of wages for mechanics would not average much, if any more, than 35 or 36 cents an hour, and from 22 to 25 cents for helpers. Since that time the standard of wages has at least doubled, but no increase in the per capita tax was made until at the last convention, the delegates realizing that the cost of everything else, as well as that of living, had greatly increased, added 25 cents on the per capita tax of all members and

now it is proposed to take off this small increase, notwithstanding the fact that each succeeding convention since 1912 has increased the financial benefits to be paid by the Grand Lodge to our members, the amount of death benefits have been enlarged, the disability benefits extended and enlarged, Out of Work receipts provided, exemption of aged members from paying per capita tax and a forty-two per cent increase in the amount of strike benefits.

These have greatly increased the obligation of the Grand Lodge, and in addition to this, the greatly increased cost of supplies, increased cost of wages for the clerks, stenographers and bookkeepers, together with the increased cost of maintaining representatives on the road as well as the increased salaries of the officers would be too great for the former rate to take care of. The present standard of per capita should have been established in 1917 when the 42 per cent increase was made in the amount of weekly strike benefits. We advocated this increase in strike benefits for we felt it was as small as the men on strike could manage to exist on while on strike, but we were disappointed that no provision was made by the 1917 convention to take care of this increased obligation and did not hesitate to voice our disappointment in the columns of the Journal. We would urge our members to take a broad-minded view of this matter and consider the future welfare and efficiency of our Brotherhood; the twenty-five cents per month in question does not amount to much to the individual member, it is only a matter of two or three cigars a month, but it would seriously affect the income of our organization, and unless we furnish a sufficient revenue we can not hope to maintain an efficient organization.

Many of our members who have been out of work for some time, no doubt experiencing all the evils and discomforts following in the train of such industrial stagnation, may for the time being feel inclined to favor this proposition because of this depressed condition, but were they back to work, would strongly oppose such a move. They should bear in mind the lessons of the past with industrial stagnation, they do not last for long periods of time fortunately and disappear as abruptly as they come about. Indications point to such a termination of the present period of idleness and therefore the present conditions are only tem-

porary but if this amendment is adopted it will seriously affect our Brotherhood for a long time. If it is necessary to maintain an organization for the protection of our trade, and we believe all agree that it is, then the more efficient we maintain it, the more protection and service it can render to our members. By increasing our revenues in 1912, we were thereby enabled to take advantage promptly of the opportunities created by the world war in 1916 and 1917 and organize about 150,000 men working on systems of railroads that had never been organized before, in many of the shipyards that did not know organization before and in the scores of new yards established to build the "bridge of ships across the Atlantic," in contract shops, in the tank building industry and in fact everywhere that our tradesmen were employed; we were in a position to grasp this opportunity more promptly and extensively than possibly any other craft and for a long time we had a formidable army of organizers in the field. While we have since lost much of this increased membership, we should maintain a large degree of preparedness, for this work must, in a large measure, be done over and the former members lost, who still follow our trades, regained when the present industrial depression is past, if we would attain to a complete state of unity of our craftsmen.

G. The Budget System of Controlling Union Funds.

(Taken from *Proceedings of Railway Employees Department, 1922*, pp. 341-2)

BRO. THOMAS VAN LEAR (Machinists): Now, Mr. Chairman, it doesn't seem to me, with the experience we have had, that it is possible to meet here and set a per capita tax, that we know when we set it, will be adequate. It may be enough or it may not be enough. Under existing conditions we have no way of knowing, and this proposition submitted by the Committee means a temporary method of finance. It means that the Executive Officers have to be called together whenever they find that the Department needs additional finances or the finances are not adequate. Now, I think we could follow the plan of most business institutions and I believe when a plan is followed by most business institutions, it is pretty good business.

The Internationals have to be appealed to in this sit-

uation anyway, and if they and the membership have this information in advance, I believe they would be in better position to take care of it. Now, there is a method in which this Department could be financed, a simple method, and that is to get accountants to make up a budget each year and have the Executive Department meet at a certain time during the year and pass on the budget for the next year. Then, the Executive Council, who are the International Officers, can fix that budget in any way they see fit, if too much is being appropriated. If, with their experience, they feel that appropriation is too large, they can cut it. If they find by past experience, an appropriation is too small, they can increase it. But, after they have passed on the budget for the year, it is up to the Department Officers to keep within that budget. If you have strikes, or things like that, they have to be financed otherwise anyway. There should be a budget, I think, set by proper budget methods, by the Executive Board of this organization, so the membership would know at the beginning how much they should pay. After they have cut and pared the budget, then they should pro-rate the necessary per capita tax to each organization to carry on the work for the two years and hold the Department Officers to that budget in running the Department, but in matters of strikes, additional assessments would have to be levied.

It seems to me that would be a businesslike way and all would know at the beginning of every year what the per capita tax would be and the per capita taxes against them that year for running the Department in the regular way, but if strikes occur, other means would have to be devised. That would let the officers know where they are, and give them a chance on the finances of the Department.

BRO. N. P. GOOD (Machinists): I had in mind the statement of Brother Van Lear that a budget should be prepared and I believe that has been, in a measure, explained further by President Franklin.

But, I question whether Brother Van Lear or any of us can appreciate in advance such matters as proposed wage decreases and other items of that kind which could properly be included in a budget.

However that may be, the proposed change does seem to fully provide for the financing of the Department since it

carries with it the apparent thought that, if necessary, an assessment would be levied by crafts affiliated with the Department who could not otherwise finance the Department and avert the possible necessity of an assessment being levied on membership in a craft which does have sufficient finances to enable them to perform their proper function without such assessment.

I believe that the change proposed by the Committee is proper, and desire to have these remarks construed as favorable to the amendment of the Committee.

H. Financial Secretaries Should be Competent as well as Honest.

(Taken from "Local Officers Should Keep Records and Discontinue Mental Bookkeeping," in *Painter and Decorator*, February 1924, p. 55)

Often more than it should occur, Local Unions find that their records are in bad condition, in most instances these facts being brought to the surface at General Headquarters, when examination of the records is made in passing on death claims, and when older members become eligible and desire to transfer to exempt membership in accordance with section 103 of our constitution.

It is unfortunate that we find occasionally a trusted member whom the membership, through their confidence and esteem, have elected Financial Secretary or Treasurer, and charged with the high responsibility of handling the funds of the Union, discover shortly afterwards that these men have violated their confidence by the misuse of the organization funds. Some rare cases have shown where the member who practiced the irregularity did so, expecting to replace the money prior to investigation by the trustees.

The old lesson on the intimate relation between inadequately and carelessly kept records and official irregularities has been so often impressed on the membership, that where one is found to exist, a suspicion of the other ought to be at once irresistible. The financial discrepancies that almost invariably accompany such records may in some few instances be innocent enough, at least not to indicate any wrong intent. Too often, however, they are due to deliberate design.

Discrepancies that may not at first be due to misap-

propriation speedily become intentional when the ease with which the first are concealed in mazes of almost meaningless figures is seen and the work of the trusted officer is accepted by a too confident set of trustees. *Bad records accepted by the trustees are an invitation to the officer to plunder* and are to be fought as vigorously as the plunderer himself.

Those of the new trustees, elected with the older trustees by virtue of the authority vested in them by the Constitution, have sufficient power to force the officers to keep an ample and comprehensive record and system of accounting in conformity with the general laws and system adopted by the membership, who have a right to know that money paid in by them should be properly credited to them.

If the trustees will do their full duty and check up every member's ledger account with day book record, and also check up receipts and expenditures quarterly, the *officer who keeps the record in his head and the change in his pocket*, will be few and far between and the discrepancies discovered before they get very far.

Incompetent Financial Secretaries, Treasurers and other officers should be asked to resign or dismissed and falsifying officers should be prosecuted.

I. Auditing Accounts and Bonding Financial Officers Will Safeguard Union Funds.

(Taken from "Auditing and Bonding," in *Proceedings of International Molders' Union*, September, 1912, p. 25)

Two most valuable features have been established since the Philadelphia convention, one of these the Auditing System, as a result of recommendations, which were made to the last Convention and the action taken thereon, and the other, the Bonding System, as a result of the opportunity presented by the first. The Auditing System has not only created the systematic and regular auditing of all local accounts, but has gone further than this by making the International Union an international auditor of these same accounts.

The inauguration and development of the Auditing System was placed in the Financier's hands and as a result of his careful study, the system, by which local accounts were audited was greatly simplified. With the assistance

of the blank forms which he prepared no difficulty is experienced by local auditors in carrying their audit step by step so that every item of income and expenditure is readily accounted for. These local audits, prepared in duplicate, enable the Financier's department to keep a ledger record of each local union's finances and through a comparison with the International Union's stamp account and the Treasurer's receipts to detect any error which may exist and promptly discover any dishonesty on the part of local officers. No system can prevent dishonesty, for human nature at times falls down before temptation despite all safeguards, but our auditing system, as it has been developed, provides the sure and speedy detection of any carelessness or dishonesty on the part of local officers, even though some of these should act in collusion.

As the auditing system was being worked out, the suggestion was made that our organization might with propriety establish a bonding department which would enable local unions to bond their financial officers as provided for by the constitution, at lower cost and with much less difficulty, and at the same time place the International Union in a position to reimburse local unions for their losses and to legally prosecute all dishonesty on the part of local financial officers.

BOOK III. THE POLICIES AND
FUNCTIONS OF UNIONS

"The Economic Strength of the Organization Determines the Bargaining Power of That Organization."
(Executive Council, American Federation of Labor)

PART V. ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES, POLICIES AND TACTICS

CHAPTER XIV

STRIKE AS A FUNDAMENTAL WEAPON

A. Strike Inherent in Wage System.

Taken from George E. McNeill, *Philosophy of the Labor Movement*, A. F. of L. pamphlet)

The strike is a part of the wage system just as much as the brake is a part of the necessary equipment of a railroad train. There are three kinds of strikes, the "why," the "how," and the "when." The first asks why do you seek to reduce wages; the second, how is it you are making so much money, and we are not; and the third, when shall we have an advance in wages and a reduction in the hours of labor, and a fuller, freer life?

A strike is a suspension of business for the discussion of those questions, and it is the only way to compel a careful consideration of the question. The brakes stop the production of wealth that better speed and safer progress may come through the increased power of the many.

B. Strike is Last Resort.

(Taken from President Perkins' Report, *Proceedings of International Cigarmakers' Union*, September, 1912, p. 11)

While we don't fear, we nevertheless don't court strikes. We should always be prepared, ready and willing to strike, but never do so unless it is absolutely necessary as well as advisable, and after the chances of success or defeat have been studiously calculated and all other means such as conferences, conciliation, and arbitration have been applied in an effort to settle the difficulty.

The desire to battle on the economic field, with or without justification, is inborn and inbred in the minds and hearts of all militantly inclined people. It is well that this is so, and I should not discourage or destroy that sentiment if I could.

People who don't possess sufficient resentment and the spirit of courage to back up their just demands with a strike if necessary will never make any progress.

The desire for more wages, shorter hours, and better economic conditions is always commendable, and a determination to achieve the fulfillment of our desires in this direction should always be encouraged.

However, as a matter of fact, we, as well as nearly all other industrial workers, are confronted by concrete conditions rather than abstract theories. Our condition, strength, locality, and resources, coupled with the strength and resources of the employer and trade conditions, should never be overlooked.

Costly strikes have occurred in the past, due to mistakes, incompetent leaders, enthusiasm, inexperience, even under fair trade conditions. The pathway in the past of nearly all trade unions is strewn with the wreck of disastrous strikes which should never have been started.

Strikes under any circumstances should not be countenanced until all honorable means, including conferences, conciliation, and arbitration to avoid them have been supplied. This expression of conviction goes double in times of industrial and commercial stagnation.

It requires more courage, more manhood, and greater devotion to the best interests of humankind to oppose a hasty, ill-advised strike than it does to stand up in advocacy of one by appealing to the prejudice, passions, and enthusiasm of a meeting swayed by their emotion, rather than calm, deliberate reason.

No strike should be permitted until a committee composed of the ablest, best, and more determined members of the union exhaust every effort in the line of conferences, conciliation, and reasonable concessions to bring about a harmonious settlement, and failing in this, then arbitration should be employed.

There should be no question in the minds of right-thinking members over the cost of necessary strikes regard-

less of what the amount may be. The question, however, of the cost of unnecessary, ill-advised, ill-timed strikes which are usually lost, is another matter which can not be lightly overlooked.

Strike? Yes, and strike laws by all means, and a treasury sufficiently strong to back up all just demands, but if we can obtain the same result by peaceful means or conferences, conciliation and arbitration, then common sense, loyalty and devotion to humanity demands that we should do so.

Strike and strike hard if necessary, but at the same time have the courage to obtain the fulfillment of our desire for better wages, shorter hours, and better and improved conditions by the more sensible, humane, rational common sense method of conciliation and arbitration when it is possible to do so.

Let caution supplant confidence; let reason dictate instead of passionate enthusiasm. The experience of the past warrants me in saying that we should add to rather than take away from any of the safeguards now surrounding our strike laws.

The avoidance of strikes through the application of rational, common sense methods, by which the same gains are secured, constitutes an important though unrecorded and unwritten history of the brilliant achievements of the trade union movement. In plain English, we have secured the best results desired without resorting to the strike with its hardships, brutalizing effects, and often lasting bitterness.

C. Organized and Disciplined Workers Use Strikes Moderately.

(Taken from *Organized Labor, Its Struggles, Its Enemies and Fool Friends*, by Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. pamphlet, pp. 2-3)

Organized workers seek to reduce strikes by being the better prepared for them.

Strikes of unorganized or newly organized workers always arouse the greatest bitterness on both sides.

The employer who has been master of all he surveys looks upon his employes as servile servants, from whom the slightest request or protest is taken to be an attack upon

his prerogative and privilege. To him it is dictation, which he resents in the most autocratic fashion.

The unorganized or newly organized workers have always looked upon themselves as entirely impotent, and therefore unable to secure redress for any wrongs which may have been inflicted upon them. Their comparatively low condition and sufferings have made them desperate; and when in their unity a new found power dawns upon them, the situation is completely changed, and they regard their employers as powerless to resist any demand, and themselves as almighty.

After the first contest, both have learned a lesson; and if the workers maintain their organization, they find that neither side possesses all the power nor all the responsibility. They have mutual respect for each other, and enter into mutual agreements.

The best organized workers, those who are better prepared to enter into strikes or to resist lockouts, are those who have least occasion to engage in them, and yet are the greater beneficiaries from modern civilization in the form of higher wages, shorter hours of daily labor, and Sunday rest. They attain a higher plane of morality, economic, political and social independence.

Thousands of agreements reached, the many more thousands of strikes averted through organization, are lost sight of by the sophists and superficial observers, and strikes regarded as the sum total, the Alpha and Omega of the labor movement, when, as a matter of fact, as already indicated, strikes are a few of the failures to agree on terms upon which industry shall be continued.

Language fails me to express how earnest are the organized workers in their desire to avoid and to reduce the number of strikes; but as one associated with the labor movement of America, and who has given more than thirty years of life to the study of economics; the history of the struggles of the workers of the world; who has participated with them in their glories as well as their defeats, I am happy in being in mental company with Abraham Lincoln when he said: "Thank God, we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure there is a point where the workingman may stop."

D. Intangible Value of Strikes.

(Taken from "No Strike was Ever Lost," an address by John Swinton before the A. F. of L. Convention of 1892, reprinted from *International Molders' Journal*, September-October, 1921, p. 510)

"Now, my friends, I do not mean to raise any surprise here by saying that there is cause for congratulation in the somber history of the year 1892. The battalions that fought this year at Homestead in Pennsylvania, at Coeur d'Alene in Idaho, at the mines in Tennessee, at New Orleans in Louisiana, and also in the city of New York, rendered heroic, productive and memorable service to the industrial hosts of the United States—aye, they did. Honor them forever! Thrice honor to these brave men, who, by their courage, saved millions of their brethren from attack, and who prevented the enemy from ravaging other fields, which he surely would have ravaged if they had not taught him that his encroachments were both costly and dangerous to himself.

"'But,' cries some blear-eyed onlooker, 'labor was defeated in all these fields and fights, from Buffalo to Coeur d'Alene, from Homestead and New York to New Orleans.'

"Halt! I answer. Halt! Thou driveler! We must take a broad view of the warlike operations of which these strikes were incidents. Skirmishes may be lost. Regiments may be defeated in the battles of a triumphant campaign. Campaigns may end in dismay for the army that conquers in the war.

"Be not in haste, ye blear-eyed blockheads! This thing is not yet over. The forces of the advance have yet begun to learn their drill. Serious revolutions move in large arcs, along a course which is orderly, though it may appear to be zigzag. The war of the Union began at Bull Run, but closed elsewhere.

"I repeat, then, that the fifty thousand brave men who, in the six great strikes and the many lesser strikes of this year, stood the enemy's onslaughts, rendered a service of incomputable worth to the working masses of the United States.

"If they had not thus stood out, if they had been cowed by dangers that confronted them, if they had suc-

cumbed without resistance, if they had failed to strike a blow before they fell—what do you think would have happened elsewhere? Do you doubt that cowardice would have invited further reprisals, that the conditions of labor would have been made harder in other places and other industries, that there would have been numberless attempts to reduce wages, to lengthen the working day, to crush out unionism, to deny the right of organization, to enforce conspiracy laws and to take all sorts of mean advantage of workers who were at the mercy of their employers?

"I tell you that those men who think that such exactions would not have been made by capitalists, if labor had refrained from giving evidence that it would resist them, must be numskulls who can not see the signs of the times.

"I ask you to bear it in mind, to hold it in grateful memory, that American labor in general has been benefited by the action of the brave strikers of Homestead, Buffalo, New Orleans, who took the field in its defense and fell while battling for a few of the items of its rights. The labor of this country has been paid millions of dollars this year, which it would not have got without the help of these striking brethren, which they would surely have lost if they had surrendered without a struggle, or had fought with less pluck and perseverance, or had failed to shiver the treasury of the assailant.

"Through them, many of you have been saved from the risks of the times; and how, then, can it be said that they strove in vain? Foul is the tongue of the workingman who would say it while reaping the advantage that they secured to him.

"I look for progress, if you be true to yourselves, I look for far brighter times, for far better industrial conditions, for a far worthier social order, for far greater general welfare than we now possess, if, with wisdom and courage, the working people wield the power which is now in their hands.

"Success to the American Federation of Labor!"

E. Principles Above Material Gains.

(Taken from "Wages Lost in Strikes," by James H. Maurer, in *Illinois Miner*, January 6, 1923)

For the past few months daily papers have been editorializing about the great loss of wages, due to strikes.

There is so much sameness about their editorials that one can hardly help but suspect that some editors accept editorials from the same source and in the same manner that they do their pay checks, all filled out, ready for their endorsement and, of course, we do know the source from which they draw their pay checks.

Most of the editorials expressed great alarm at the loss of wages, due to the coal miners and railroad shop crafts strikes which involved about one and a quarter million men. As one paper put it, "at four dollars a day, the strikers lose five millions of dollars in wages a day, or one billion, five hundred millions a year, to say nothing of the loss to employers and stockholders."

Now, as a matter of fact, the wage-earners can not lose something they never had. When they do not work, they do not earn anything and, therefore, they can not lose wages they never earned. When employed, their labor produces value of product but, without value produced, how can value be lost?

When men go on strike, they, temporarily, withdraw their labor-power from the industry in which they formerly sold it and, when they reserve their labor-energy, keep it and don't sell it, it surely is illogical to say they lose what they keep.

When nations are at war, they seldom consider the cost of the conflict or the sacrifice of earning-power of men taken out of industry and used as soldiers. As an illustration: During our own American revolution, men quit their jobs, the farm and workshop, and joined the army to suffer, fight and die, not for a wage consideration but for an ideal and who would dare say that the sacrifices these brave men and women made were not worth the price they paid? They put aside immediate welfare so that they who survived and their descendants who followed might enjoy political independence and economic security against foreign interference.

Just so in an industrial war. The workers, voluntarily, agree to take a vacation and join the strike, often to suffer hunger, eviction, imprisonment, even death, not for the few dollars' strike benefits their unions may pay, or for the privilege of doing picket duty and being beaten by imported company thugs, but for an ideal and who would dare say

that the sacrifices these brave men and women made during the past half century and more were not worth the price they paid?

Only for these industrial struggles of organized labor, the workers would still live pretty much as their ancestors lived before the labor union came into existence. Every strike means a struggle to hold or advance the toilers' standard of living, greater economic security, better and happier homes, education for their children, improved and more humane working conditions, in fact, a better world in which to live.

Almost every forward step made by labor was bitterly contested and almost every inch gained was paid for by the self-sacrifice of workers who had the courage of their convictions and not by the loyalists to corporate greed to whom President Harding refers as "free labor."

If the editors wish to write of needless waste, let them editorialize upon the losses due to lockouts, black-lists, inefficiency of management, supporting of private armies of gunmen, labor spies, legal fees to beat the law, graft, slush funds to corrupt our public officials, etc. Or, the editors might make a report on the loss due to enforced idleness during the past three years when there were, in the United States, something like five millions of workers, anxious and willing to work, but who were not allowed to work, at \$4.00 a day for each worker idle.

This would mean, according to the editors' calculation, a loss of \$20,000,000 a day, six billions of dollars a year, or a total of eighteen billions for three years, an amount about equal to what Uncle Sam spent a few years ago to make the world safe for democracy.

Of course, one can not expect writers to see mountains when their vision can be obstructed by mole hills.

CHAPTER XV

STRIKE STRATEGY

A. Issues Involved in Strikes and Lockouts.

(Taken from President Johnston's report in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, October 1911, p. 969)

With this report I am publishing a list showing the strikes and lockouts in which our members have been engaged for the past two years, and the location of same.

The principal reasons for our members striking can be put down as follows:

1. Securing increases in wages.
2. Reductions in hours of labor.
3. Preventing increases in hours of labor.
4. Preventing discrimination against members of the organization.
5. To enforce seniority of employment.
6. Introduction of piece work and the operating of two or more machines by one man.
7. Violation of agreements by employers.
8. To secure working schedules or contracts.
9. Sympathetic or joint action with other organizations.

B. Unauthorized Strikes Can Not be Tolerated.

(Taken from an editorial, "Unauthorized Strikes," in *International Molders' Journal*, May, 1900, p. 277)

With the advent of spring the desire to strike seems to become more intense among workingmen in every branch of industry, and it is the experience of the Molders' Union at least, that it is more difficult to prevent impulsive action at that season than any other. That may account for the many instances of insubordination on the part of local unions at this time, and we feel it incumbent upon us to

say that local unions will find it to their advantage to adhere closely to their constitutional laws in the future. The practice of sending to headquarters notification of demands about to be made and going out on the street to enforce them before a reply can be received, or, as in some cases, in spite of instructions contained in that reply, must be stopped. Officers can not direct the affairs of the organization nor conduct a successful policy if when they give instructions to a local that are not to the liking of its members they endeavor to precipitate matters by going on the street. The Executive Board are unanimous in their determination to make an example of locals so offending to the extent of revoking their charter. In most of these cases local officers wire to headquarters about as follows: "Demands refused. Men walked out. Send man at once." We are instructed to say that local unions taking such action will have no consideration shown them. The Board will not sanction their strike nor will a man be sent. The interests of the organization are too important to be jeopardized in this manner. The laws are made to be observed and not to be violated at will, and the staunch, level-headed members of local unions should keep these remarks in mind and refuse to be dragged into a strike without the sanction and approval of the executive officers of the International Molders' Union of North America. It is only by adherence to discipline and fulfilling all obligations of the organization that you can be successful.

C. Machinery and Problems of Strike Organization.

(Taken from Report of International Representative on Cramp Strike, in *Boilermakers' and Iron Shipbuilders' Journal*, July, 1921, p. 275)

On December 14, 1920, the Cramp Ship and Engine Company posted a notice about that yard that in the future the officials of the company would deal only with the men individually and would not meet the committees appointed by the men with whom they had been dealing for about five years. This being against all the principles of trade unionism, the different organizations not only affiliated with the Delaware River Ship Builders' Council, but also those included in the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor took action on this matter and on

January 17 a walkout took place including the following organizations: Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Boiler Makers, comprising four locals, Painters, Engineers, Sheet Metal Workers, Foundry Laborers, Machinists, Time Keepers and Clerks, Common Laborers, and the Electricians who had no organization, but since then have been kept in line by an international officer. After about one week of the strike the Molders came out of their own accord, but were ordered back by their business agent, J. Cronin, who informed them that those not returning to their places would be filled by men carrying cards in the Molders' Union from another city; of course this caused these men to return to work. The Patternmakers and Draughtsmen never came out and are still working. The total number of men who answered the call was about 6,000; of this number there were about 3,000 men receiving strike benefits from their different organizations, so it became necessary for the men handling the strike to devise ways and means to care for those not receiving benefits.

An executive council was formed comprising one man from each local whose men were on strike; to these men fell the lot of raising the necessary funds to take care of the men not receiving strike benefits.

A letter of appeal was sent to the different locals throughout the country which was answered very favorably from certain parts of the country, but as this strike ran along the executive council found that the funds coming in were inadequate, so other means had to be found. A community store was then started where the necessities of life could be handed out at the least cost. Arrangements were made with wholesale houses to buy in carload lots. Now those not receiving strike benefits are given store orders twice a week, and these orders are filled at this store and the size of the order they receive is governed by the size of the family. This store is still in operation and is doing wonderful work towards the upkeep of the morale of the strikers.

Another branch of the executive council is known as the rent committee, and any delinquent man who has been threatened with eviction from his home, if he applies to this committee for redress, his case is investigated and if found to be correct, his rent is paid.

A corps of doctors has been established in order to take care of the families of all strikers who happen to need their services. There are five doctors in this crew and they have volunteered their services free of charge. There are three drug stores who have also agreed to fill all prescriptions issued by these physicians.

The wives, sisters and sweethearts of the strikers have been organized into an auxiliary and meet every Thursday evening and addresses are made by the different International officers handling the strike. This organization has been of great assistance in this strike, not only in keeping the men on the picket line, but in raising funds they have been a wonderful help. A committee of these women visits the churches on Sunday mornings and as the people come out of church they take up a collection. These women run coffee parties every week, which nets a good sum; raffles are also run at these coffee parties, with dancing afterwards.

The children of these strikers have formed an organization of their own and on a good many corners of the city you will see candy and lemonade stands run by these children. The money derived from these is also turned in to the general committee. These children also parade up and down the street where the shipyard is located when what few men are employed are going to work; and by this method of picketing we have gained quite a number of recruits. There are about 4,000 of these children who are taking active interest in this strike.

Meetings of the strikers are held every day in the largest hall that can be obtained in the city, and the attendance is 100 per cent. It is well to mention now that according to our roll calls only about 50 men have returned to work, and this is remarkable owing to the condition in this city. The picket line has been kept in perfect condition, this being a very hard task, inasmuch as the police of the city have been very active in this strike, maintaining a constant guard of 1,500 police in and around the yard, motorcycle police who follow the cars that carry the scabs from work, mounted police at every corner also guarding the men until these scabs take the cars, patrol wagons about every four squares, so you can readily see the protection these scabs receive from city officials. Nevertheless, the sympathizers of the strikers have been able to keep the

force of scabs from being of any size to hurt our cause any. For illustration to what extremes they are going in order to break this strike, it was only two weeks ago that the captain of guards employed by the Cramp Company came to the office of the business agent of Local 329 of the Boiler Makers, and after inquiring where Stanley Rajeski was, on being told that he was in the back room working, he went in and deliberately shot him, and only for the quickness of the business agent, when he said, "I am going to kill you," the business agent grabbing the hand the gun was in, he would have carried out his threat, but fortunately he was only shot in the leg. This bears out the information we received that the company was furnishing the scabs with guns; not only that but when some of the scabs were arrested, these guns were found on them. About 200 of our pickets have been arrested, some of them have been shot, some stabbed and some beat up by the police, but notwithstanding all the setbacks we have had, the strikers are more determined today than they were at the start of the strike. A monster minstrel show was held last week, put on and staged by the strikers themselves. The theater was donated by the owner, musicians furnished by the Musicians' Union, and acts furnished by the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees of America. This show ran three nights and was a tremendous success and each performance the S. R. O. sign was out.

Now any local or brother who reads this and believes this is a just fight for the right of collective bargaining, kindly help these men out by some small donation (large ones will not be refused).

D. New Method of Financing and Maintaining Strikes.

(Taken from "The Cramp Strike and the Commissary," by C. S. Golden, in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, August, 1921, p. 649-51)

Shortly after the beginning of the strike of the allied crafts employed by the Wm. Cramp & Sons Ship & Engine Building Co. it became evident that all efforts toward making the strike a success must be coordinated. In previous articles I have pointed out how the strike was managed by a joint committee composed of delegates from each craft involved, how this committee was subdivided into

sections on publicity, finance and relief, legal aid, etc., and how, in spite of the lack of experience, these committees have functioned perfectly and contributed so largely toward keeping up the morale and maintaining the solidarity of the strikers and their families.

Of the various sections of the joint central committee, none have performed greater service than the relief and finance sections. Too much credit can not be given these workers for their splendid constructive efforts. As in all big strikes the problem of supplying the strikers with food and other necessities looms up large after the first few weeks of the strike. The fact that a considerable number of workers not members in good standing of any organization came out on strike with their fellow union members made this question of financial and other aid, a large one. Finances were limited and strike benefits were paid only to those legally entitled to them under the constitutions of the various organizations involved. To make the strike effective and a success the non-beneficiary members must of course be taken care of and not permitted to suffer in any way.

Efforts were at first made to give the strikers and their families orders on a Workers' Cooperative Store that had been established on a small scale some time previously. These orders were to be filled at the store, signed by the striker receiving same and then turned in to the finance committee which arranged to honor them weekly. Due to the large number of cases requiring relief and the fact that the Cooperative Store had but a limited amount of capital, it soon became evident that this plan would not work. The many nationalities, the differences in their accustomed mode of living, were serious obstacles to the successful administration of this form of relief.

Then the central strike committee decided to establish its own commissaries. A vacant house was secured. Quantities of staple articles of food were purchased wholesale. Large quantities of potatoes, cabbage and other vegetables were donated by friendly dealers. Due to the many and varied requirements of the applicants for relief, it was impossible to establish a standardized ration for all. At this point a few words on the organization of the strikers' womenfolks are in order.

Largely through the efforts of the officers of the Woman's Trade Union League, Misses Pauline Newman and Freida Miller, a Women's Auxiliary of the Cramp's Strikers as it was formally called, was organized. Hundreds of the wives, mothers and daughters of the strikers were enrolled as members. Weekly meetings are held at which competent speakers explain the causes of the strike, its progress; and the general philosophy of the trade union movement is taught the women.

All applications for relief are referred to the finance and relief committee. In cases where it is deemed necessary to verify the claims of applicants as to number in family, sickness, etc., the matter is referred to an investigating committee from the Women's Auxiliary. The natural aptitude of women for understanding household problems and requirements can be readily appreciated. Their recommendations are accepted as final. A standard form, known as a store order, is issued to the applicant for relief. In substance it stated that the application for relief had been investigated by a committee of a certain local and was approved. The commissary was authorized to provide a quantity of food to the amount of a specified sum depending on the report of the women investigators. The name, address, number in family of the applicant are stated on the order. These orders are made out in duplicate, one copy going to the commissary, the other being retained by the committee of the local union issuing same. Thus a complete record is easily kept not only of the number of cases of relief but the amount of same and frequency of application. This eliminates any and all charges of favoritism, graft or mismanagement. The books are audited weekly and the reports made public at the strike meetings.

Each local union has a finance committee of its own. It is the duty of these committees to solicit financial aid from sister locals in its own trade. Orders issued to the strikers coming under the jurisdiction of each local are paid for by that Local from the revenue collected by the finance committee. A central finance committee cooperating with its local subdivisions solicits funds from organizations outside the shipyard trades, arranges entertainments, etc., for the purpose of raising funds for legal aid and relief for non-beneficial strikers of various descriptions.

The following figures show the quantities of foodstuffs issued each week by the commissaries. Figures compiled show that an average of 1150 orders for foodstuffs are filled each week:

16,508 lbs. Potatoes
20 lbs. Tea
185 lbs. Macaroni
490 lbs. Rice
650 lbs. Coffee
2,500 lbs. Sugar
600 lbs. Soup Bones
1,604 cans Tomatoes
1,300 cans Table Syrup
1,296 cans Pork and Beans
2,650 cans Milk
300 cans Peas
150 cans Condensed Milk
7,885 loaves Bread
1,265 packages Corn Flakes

The talent for administering relief, legal aid, commissaries, publicity, etc., that has developed during this gigantic strike is ample proof that the workers have all the potential abilities to successfully manage their business once they are given an opportunity for expression. Men who were formerly helpers in the shipyard are today managing the equivalent of provision stores doing thousands of dollars of business monthly. They are doing their work faithfully and efficiently not for a reward in the form of a fat salary, as they receive only the constitutional strike benefits from the organization of which they are members, but because their hearts and souls are with their fellow workers in a gigantic conflict with a powerful enemy having all the weapons of finance, press and state at his beck and call.

There are many other interesting and instructive features connected with the splendid management of this strike. When it is over a splendid volume could and, no doubt, will be written that will prove of great value as a text book for the workers engaged in similar conflicts with the Masters of Industry.

As a result of the splendid response received from

past appeals for aid, we have been able to keep the wolf of hunger and suffering away for seven long months; have kept our lines intact and our pickets on the job. This can be continued and the autocrats of the Cramp Co. will learn that even the weapon of starvation is impotent when the workers rally to the support of their own class. Your past aid has been an inspiration and source of encouragement to the strikers and your future assistance will determine the final outcome of this great struggle for industrial justice and democracy.

E. Nation Wide Strikes Can Not be Financed on Old Fashioned Lines.

(Taken from "Suggested Change in Method of Paying Strike Benefits," by P. J. Conlon, in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, September, 1920, pp. 834-5)

As our Association is about to convene in the city of Rochester, to make laws for the future, the thought has struck me that I might use a small space in the Journal to bring before that august body a matter that is giving certain of our membership considerable concern. On page 42 of the Constitution, a section entitled "Strike and Victimized Benefits" appears, and while we have fairly tried to keep up our reputation for meeting its requirement, we have nevertheless had considerable of a struggle to do so. In some cases our members feel that they have been discriminated against, and they have good grounds for such complaint.

We have just had six assessments of \$1 each levied to replenish this fund to put it on a basis whereby we could meet our obligations. Before we have collected all of this assessment we are taking a strike vote of our railroad men to ascertain whether or not they will accept the award of the Railway Labor Board, and written on the strike ballot is the announcement that if a strike is called, owing to its magnitude, strike benefits can not be paid. The same thing was told our railroad members on the last strike ballot they took a year ago.

Now our railroad membership is a compact body numbering about 100,000 good standing members, and individual strikes with them is a thing of the past; they must

all strike together or remain at work. We admit we can not finance a strike they might call, therefore Section 3, of Article XI, becomes a dead letter, insofar as they are concerned.

I will ask our readers if it is fair for us to continue in our constitution a provision that can not be carried out for 33 per cent of our membership, but which is expected to contribute to this fund that it can not participate in?

I am citing only this one instance, but the railroad men are not alone. In our eight-hour campaign in 1916, we had to depart from the constitution because we could not carry out its promises, there being three thousand men on strike in Cincinnati, to which the writer was assigned. If we complied strictly with the constitution, we would have been up against the wall in six weeks' time.

Owing to the magnitude of the affair, no regular strike benefits were promised or paid, the Executive Board giving us such financial assistance as was possible, we in turn meeting the needs of men who required immediate assistance. In this way we were able to continue the struggle eight months without any serious complaint from or hardship to the men involved. We therefore find ourselves in a position where we must play honest with our members. We should tell them that we will support them to the extent of our ability, and give our executive officers discretionary powers to handle our strike funds in a way that every dollar will be judiciously expended for men who are actually doing picket duty and trying to win the strike, instead of paying eight dollars a week to men who remain at home building cow sheds, selling insurance, doing a thousand other odd jobs, only showing up at the strike office to sign the payroll when the Grand Lodge check arrives. But above all other considerations is our struggle to carry out the existing law. Consider if you please 100,000 railroad men who contributed their six assessments to the strike fund; how do they feel when informed this fund is not for them? Consider also how you would feel if you were in a general strike in New York, Chicago, or St. Louis, Toledo, San Francisco, or in District 44, when the executive officers of our Association would have to tell you the same thing.

At first glance this suggestion may seem revolutionary, but after a little sober thought and reflection, you will find

there is nothing new in the budget method of paying benefits. Our own officers have been forced to adopt it at times, and a majority of our organizations have adopted this method as a means of distributing financial assistance in times of industrial conflict.

I am not opposed to building up a good strong strike fund for defensive purposes, by assessment if necessary, but it should be distributed equitably and judiciously, so that every dollar that is distributed will produce the most effective results. This is the thought I have in mind.

Give our Executive Board a free hand in conducting strikes, instead of shackling them with an old law that was obsolete when I served my apprenticeship on the General Executive Board a quarter of a century ago.

CHAPTER XVI

LABOR'S PURCHASING POWER—THE UNION LABEL

A. The Union Label Aims to Organize Labor's Purchasing Power Upon Lines of Fair Conditions of Labor.

(Taken from President Gompers' Report, *Proceedings*, 1899, p. 10)

In demanding the union label, we do not necessarily antagonize non-unionists or the unfriendly employer, other than by indirection, as we give our patronage and encouragement to those who are associated with us in the effort to benefit the entire working population; in other words, we give our practical support to our associates, and our friendship to our friends. The more faithful, intense, and persistent we shall be in the demand for union labelled goods, the greater will grow the fraternal sentiment, feeling, and interest which shall entwine the hearts of the workers in one grand brotherhood of labor.

(Taken from "The Union Label—Its History and Aims," *A. F. of L. Prize Essay*, pp. 5, 8, 15)

In a word, the union label is a weapon with which the trade union arms the fair employer and disarms the unfair employer. . . . It organizes the purchasing power upon lines of fair conditions of labor, as against those conditions that destroy the health and morality of the producer and endanger the well being of the purchaser. . . . The label seeks to be, by patronage, or proscription, the great educator of manufacturer and consumer, the trade semaphore of the one, the social arbiter of the other. The attitude of its advocates toward defiant tradesmen is to shun their stores and invoke public following in the ostracism; but the reprisal will bring many a merchant to his senses, and that invocation will make as big a dent in a cash account as the hammer of Thor made in the mountain.

B. Ideal of Union Label is Mutual Aid.

(Taken from President Gompers' Report, *Proceedings*, 1905, p. 26)

The issuance of a label by our unions is at once a declaration of our earnest desire to serve all our people best, and a guarantee that the article it adorns is the product of labor under the most sanitary and comparatively fairer conditions than otherwise obtained. It is an appeal to the sympathy and cooperation of our fellows to be helpful in the work for material, moral, and social improvement of all our people. In no more tangible way can a sympathetic public render effective service to their brothers and sisters of toil than by demanding the union label. There is no duty which our fellow workers, and particularly our fellow unionists, should more cordially and consistently adhere to than the demand for the union label and the union card. Because of the good it does and can do, because of its effectiveness as a potent factor in our life's work as individuals and in our organized capacity, we should, in our national conventions, international unions, state, central, and local bodies, propagate the work of creating a healthier and more general demand and insistence for the insignia of honest, sanitary, and fair conditions of labor, the union label.

C. Union Label an Important Economic Weapon.

(Taken from "The Importance of the Union Label," by John T. Cosgrove, in *The Carpenter*, May, 1923, p. 23)

The use of the Label or Trade Mark in the business world is one of the most important methods resorted to by big business to increase the sales of their products and the various enterprises under their control. Big business houses and corporations very early learned the necessity, importance and value of the Label or Trade Mark, not only as a means of distinguishing their products, but also as a means of labelling such products so that they can at a moment's glance be recognized as the product of a particular manufacturer.

These manufacturers have long ago recognized the importance of thoroughly impressing upon the public's mind

their labels and are continually making a determined effort to educate the public to look for that particular label, and that none is genuine except those that bear this label, which demonstrates clearly to the public if they desire to purchase reliable goods, they must see to it that a certain label is stamped on those goods, and as a consequence the purchasing public is daily being educated by advertisements in the daily papers and all the important periodicals and magazines to look for the manufacturer's label on the goods, and that goods that do not bear the label of that particular manufacturer can not be classed as being of the quality and workmanship desired by the purchaser. It is most important that we should have a Union Label, and that by its use the power and influence of those organizations who have a Union Label can be built up, and the sale of those particular Union-made goods can be increased and the public mind can be educated to ask for and purchase Union Labelled goods. But the writer believes that a masterful campaign must be launched among all the Union men and women of the American Labor movement to induce them to look upon the Union Label as being of more importance than all the labels of the various business houses in the country—and when the Union men and their families are educated to understand the importance of the use of the Union Label, and to buy only those goods stamped plainly upon them, then will the Union Label become the most important label in the business world.

D. Power of the Union Label Unlimited.

(Taken from an article by John J. Manning, in *American Federationist*, February, 1922, p. 134)

The assaults being made on the labor movement by legislative bodies, the courts, the press and employers' associations are or should be a cause for grave concern to every member of a trade union, as the object in view of these interests is the destruction of the only militant group which stands between the avarice of predatory interests and the constitutional and guaranteed rights of the people. Now that these combined assaults have about reached the "peak" and the ranks of the organized workers have withstood their most severe shocks, it is time that we should be up and

doing things for the people with all of the aggressive force at our command.

The national congress and state legislatures may enact inimical legislation; courts may curtail our activities by the writ of injunction; the press and hostile employers may sing the praises of the so-called "American plan," yet all of these processes will fail of their objective if we remain loyal to ourselves and our union obligations, which after all mean nothing but loyalty to our fellows.

The power of purchase is a weapon in the hands of the workers so potent for beneficial results as to be beyond belief, if it is used consistently and discriminately.

Every dollar earned under union conditions which is spent for non-union products or where only non-union workers are employed, is not only giving aid and comfort to our enemies, but it is also a direct attack by us on our friends, viz., union members and fair employers.

Hostile legislative enactments, court orders or employers' associations are unable to control our purchasing power, and until we make up our minds to fight the powerful interests allied against us with the powers of organization and purchase, progress which should be fairly rapid and permanent, will not be our portion.

By the formation of union label leagues and the dissemination of information relative to the union label, shop card and working button, the Union Label Trades Department is doing its utmost to spread the gospel of concentration of the power of purchase.

"Fight the open shop with our power of purchase," is a very good slogan for 1922 and every succeeding year for that matter.

E. Union Label Department.

(Taken from American Federation of Labor—*History Encyclopedia Reference Book* for 1919, p. 433)

One of organized labor's greatest economic weapons is the union label. It is an assurance that the products on which it is printed, stamped or sewed are made under healthy, sanitary conditions and by labor receiving the union scales of wages and acceptable working conditions. It early became noticeable that some central organizations of the national and international unions should be formed

to make extraordinary efforts to so advertise the labels that they would be known to the general public and therefore increase the sales of union labelled articles. The A. F. of L. conventions had considered plans yearly for the advancement of the label and finally a conference was authorized by the Norfolk convention in 1907 to consider the formation of a union label department. A report was made at the Denver convention of the A. F. of L. and the committee was continued. It held several meetings in Washington. An invitation was extended to all national and international unions having labels to meet with the committee and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. In answer to the invitation fifty-seven representatives of thirty organizations assembled in Washington on March 29, 1909, and decided to organize a union label department. The attack on the hatters' label as well as the opposition of the National Manufacturers' Association to all union labels made it necessary for the label trades to organize for self-protection. A constitution was adopted and officers chosen.

CHAPTER XVII

LABOR'S PURCHASING POWER—THE BOYCOTT

A. Making Labor's Purchasing Power Effective Through the Boycott.

(Taken from John Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, pp. 291-2)

In a certain sense the label and the boycott are different phases of the same thing, two sides of the same shield. The boycott points out those with whom one should not deal, the label, those with whom one should deal exclusively.

B. Boycott an Inalienable Right.

(Taken from President Gompers' Report, *Proceedings*, 1909, p. 31)

We have always held, and we still hold, that the workers, or any of the people, have the right to withhold or to bestow their patronage as they choose; that they have the right to advise friends and sympathizers of this action and of the reason therefor. It is hardly necessary to state that in the case of the workers the unfair attitude of the dealer in question has always been the reason for withdrawal of patronage. It has been made clear that he refused to pay the standard rate of wages and to agree to other equitable conditions which the workers seek through their organizations, and hence the withdrawal of patronage. The boycotts declared by other citizens have sometimes been placed for other reasons, and they can safely be left to a defense of their own actions. I only wish to point out in passing that the boycott is by no means a weapon used by the workers alone. It is one of those inalienable rights which are at times used by all people. The right to withhold or bestow patronage is one of those things which can neither be enjoined, forbidden, nor punished.

C. Boycott a Necessary Moral Weapon.

(Taken from Report of Committee on Boycotts,
A. F. of L. Proceedings, 1909, p. 282)

Under present conditions the boycott is a necessary legal and moral weapon, and one that, as the President well says, there should be no hesitation to resort to when other remedies fail and the occasion demands the unusual and drastic antidote. Lawyers' associations, medical societies, scientific bodies, even the fraternal societies, all forms of combined human endeavor—all resort to the boycott to achieve their legitimate, and in some instances illegitimate ends. Why then should not the labor union have that right with its cause a just one, and its desire the betterment and uplifting of those who follow the Scriptural injunction, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread." If an individual has the right to refuse to patronize, then that same individual has the right to enlist the sympathies of his fellow man, and it follows that if the two have the right to refuse to patronize, then labor in combination has the right to refuse to patronize.

We say that when your cause is just and every other remedy has been employed without result, boycott; we say that when the employer has determined to exploit not only adult male labor, but our women and our children, and our reasoning and appeal to his fairness and his conscience will not sway him, boycott; we say that when labor has been oppressed, browbeaten and tyrannized, boycott; we say that when social and political conditions become so bad that ordinary remedial measures are fruitless, boycott; and finally we say, we have the right to boycott and we propose to exercise that right.

D. The Seller Has No Legal Property Right to His Customer.

(Taken from "The Principle of the Labor Boycott,"
by John P. Frey in *International Molders' Journal*,
March, 1909, p. 166)

The labor boycott was more accurately defined by V. A. Olander of the Seaman's Union at the Federation of Labor in Chicago on the 3d, than we remember ever to have seen or heard it defined before in so few words. Mr.

Olander denied that the labor boycott injures any property rights; and referring for illustration to the national labor-boycott of the Buck stove, and the sentencing for contempt of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, he said: "Neither the defendants in this case or other union men destroyed a Buck's stove or the factory where they are manufactured. They probably injured the sale of the stoves, but we deny that this is a property right. And that is where our protest against the ruling of the court comes in. If we assume that a boycott to injure the sale of a product injures a property right, then we assume that the manufacturer has a property right in the customer; and no man has a property right in a customer or in the laborer who works for him. The sooner we make this clear the sooner shall we get relief we are asking for."

Mr. Olander's distinction is absolutely true. To destroy physical property, or to dissipate intangible property secured as such by the law, is a radically different thing from turning customers away from a seller of goods. The seller neither has nor can have a legal property right in his customers. No one can have a property right in the goodwill of his customers which the customers are bound to respect. They may quit patronizing him at any time from any motive. If they do so from fear of personal injury, it is they and not the seller whose rights are assailed. If they quit not from fear of the boycotter but from information which he supplies, then the boycotter's offense depends upon whether his information was true and legitimate; and on these issues a jury and not an injunction judge must decide.

As to the legitimacy of the information upon which the customer acts, anything that would affect a free man's decision in buying goods is legitimate information about those goods—provided only that it is true. If the merits of the Buck stove, for instance, were fraudulently extolled by the maker, the publication of that fact ought to be and would be lawful. The Buck stove customers have a right to know the truth about this important element in determining their action as buyers. But customers are influenced by other considerations than the inherent merits of the commodity they buy. Good men and women would not like to buy a commodity streaked with the blood of

factory-foundered children. It is therefore no wrong to let them know the fact, if it be a fact, and to appeal to them in the name of humanity not to buy. They might not like to buy commodities produced by underpaid and overworked labor. It is therefore no wrong to let them know this fact, in cases in which it is a fact and to appeal to them not to buy. And so of those who prefer "union made" goods to "scab made goods"; the manufacturer has no property right in secrecy as to that fact. Unless persons who abhor the death-dealing child-labor of our factories; those who shudder at the oppressive conditions which employers, taking advantage of unfair social institutions, are forcing upon working people; those who believe in encouraging labor organizations—unless they may unite to divert their custom from the establishments that turn human blood into dividends, both their personal freedom and their property rights are destroyed. For it is everybody's right to trade with whom he pleases.

E. Boycott Effective Only When Used Intelligently.

1. INJUDICIOUS USE OF BOYCOTT HARMFUL

(Taken from President Gompers' Report, *Proceedings*, 1899, p. 10)

The wanton or unnecessary placing of a business house on the unfair or boycott list, is to bring that weapon into disrepute and ridicule and to render it worse than ineffective since it then must react upon us to our disadvantage.

2. NUMBER OF BOYCOTTS MUST BE LIMITED

(Taken from Report of Executive Council of A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1901, p. 168)

As will be noted we have an exceedingly large number of establishments on the "we-don't-patronize-list" of the American Federation of Labor. There is no doubt in our mind but that the firms in question have been so antagonistic and unfair to our fellow workers as to warrant us in withholding our goodwill and patronage from them. We are forced to the conclusion, however, that when the "unfair list" contains a large number of names of firms it weakens this potent method of securing redress. While we do not at this time recommend the dropping of all these firms from our "unfair list," we think a revision would be advis-

able, eliminating those which may have become obsolete, and we urge a restraint upon its increase. We also recommend, and urgently request, that the officers of National and International Unions having official journals, and the labor press more generally, publish the "we-don't-patronize" list and revise it monthly according to the official list.

3. WILL NOT BOYCOTT FOR OPINIONS

(Taken from Report of Committee on Grievances,
A. F. of L. Proceedings, 1904, p. 223)

We do not undertake to say that the statements complained of, as published by Editor Fleming, are justified or otherwise; we are not in a position to know, but whatever the expressions may have been, the untrammelled freedom of the press is so important to the well being, not only of organized labor, but to human, civilized life, that no conceivable circumstance could arise that would warrant trade unionists, in their organized capacity, in placing a publication upon the "boycott" list for the expression of an opinion.

President Gompers has communicated to the New Orleans Central Body to this effect, but the Central Body has neither rectified the wrong nor complied with its repeated promises to answer the complaint made. In view of these facts, we recommend that unless the New Orleans Central Body removes from its unfair list the "United Labor Journal" within thirty days after the close of this convention, and so notifies the President of the American Federation of Labor, the charter of said Central Body shall be withdrawn.

CHAPTER XVIII

UNION RECOGNITION AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

A. Collective Bargaining is "Fair Deal to Both Sides."

(Taken from "Collective Bargaining—Labor's Proposal to Insure Greater Industrial Peace," by Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. Pamphlet; also in *American Federationist*, March, 1920)

Collective bargaining means that the organized employes of a trade or industry, through representatives of their own choosing, shall deal with the employer or employers in the making of wage scales and working conditions. Collective bargaining is the only practical proposal for adjusting relations between the management and the workers in a business way, assuring a fair deal to both sides.

Each individual joins with his fellow workman to ask collectively for better wages and conditions of employment that he could not secure through his own efforts alone. An employer of, say, five hundred men, has an unfair advantage if he deals with them as individuals. To make the employes equal in power and influence to the employer they must be organized, and through regularly chosen representatives, meet the employer on a common footing. By conceding points on each side an agreement can be finally reached that will maintain better relations and therefore greater industrial peace.

In no other walk of life does the idea exist that a man must arbitrarily accept any offer that may be made by another. There are two sides always to an agreement. Each side ought to have equal chances to propose and insist upon what it considers a fair agreement.

Industrial peace can be secured only by the righting of wrongs suffered by the workers. If a body of workers has a grievance it can be adjusted only through conferences with the employer or his representative. As all can not meet the employer at one time it is necessary for them to

select representatives to carry out their will as expressed collectively. This right is identical with that always held by the employer and never challenged by the law or the public.

In all spheres of activity in which employers, business men, public men and citizens generally have any matter in which their interests are involved, they not only avail themselves of appearing by their own representatives and counsel of their own choosing, whether in litigation before the courts or in business relations, but they are guaranteed even by the constitution of our country the right to be heard by counsel. The claim of the workers in this respect is founded upon the same fundamental beneficial principle—the right of the workers to be represented by counsel (not lawyers), representatives of their own number and of their own choice.

For instance, in great industries such as the iron and steel industry, the employes have nothing to say as to their wages and working conditions. They work twelve hours a day and every two weeks, in changing from day to night work, they are compelled to remain at their tasks for twenty-four hours straight. This has been the practice since the industry has been organized into corporations. There have been much opposition and grumbling from the employes, but these have never reached the heads of the corporations, or if they did, found no response.

The employes were unorganized. Collective bargaining, except for a short time years ago with a small number of highly skilled employes, was unknown. The great mass of workers had no voice in what they should receive. If a superintendent or foreman wished to change the conditions of employment, he could do so without question, as each department is expected to produce a certain amount in value. The straw bosses pinched and schemed to do it. The only way they ever tried was to take something away from the employes. They never considered that most efficient production could be secured only when agencies for assuring justice to employes and the best management and working conditions were established. It was this sort of industrial servitude that culminated many times in great strikes in the steel industry. It brought the strike of 1919. The head of the great corporation in that industry refused

to meet representatives of the employes even to hear their grievances. If collective bargaining had been in force in that industry the twelve and twenty-four hour day would have disappeared years ago, and it would have been accomplished without a strike. Now the responsible head of that corporation knows so little of what the steel workers are thinking that he even asserts that they want the twelve-hour day.

As the employes were employed as individuals and kept apart by racial, creed, national prejudices and other means, they could not unite to submit their grievances until they became members of trades unions. They could not understand each other, nor could they succeed in eliminating the causes that had formerly kept them in isolated and hostile groups.

Collective bargaining in industry does not imply that wage-earners shall assume control of industry, or responsibility for financial management. It proposes that the employes shall have the right to organize and to deal with the employer through selected representatives as to wages and working conditions.

Among the matters that properly come within the scope of collective bargaining are wages, hours of labor, conditions and relations of employment, the sanitary conditions of the plant, safety and comfort regulations and such other factors as would add to the health, safety and comfort of the employes, resulting in the mutual advantage of both employers and employes. But there is no belief held in the trades unions that its members shall control the plant or usurp the rights of the owners.

Collective bargaining takes into consideration not only mutually advantageous conditions and standards of life and work, but also the human equation, a desideratum too long neglected.

B. Union Recognition Prerequisite to Collective Bargaining.
(Taken from "Collective Bargaining and Its Relation to Official Union Recognition by Employers," by William Green, in *United Mine Workers Journal*, May 15, 1923, p. 10)

Collective bargaining and union recognition go hand in hand. In fact, there can be no recognition of the principle

of collective bargaining without a corresponding recognition of the right of the workers to organize into trade unions. Collective bargaining is a meaningless term, void of any virtue and of no consequence whatever when the workers are denied the right to organize and union recognition is not accorded them. To deny the workers the right to organize is nothing more than improper interference with the exercise of an inherent right and the normal activities of a free people.

We are living in an age of organization; at a time when the tendency of human effort and social endeavor is towards organization, cooperation and collective action. Little or nothing is now attempted in a financial, industrial, fraternal, religious or social way except through organization. Men and women instinctively turn to organization as the only practical method through which they can bring about the realization of great ideals and the accomplishment of inspiring, noble purposes.

In the light of these facts it would be inconsistent if society would recognize the right of individuals to form partnerships and corporations for profits, to permit the existence of religious, fraternal, social, economic and political organizations, and at the same time deny working people the right to organize for the purpose of economic protection and to secure better and higher standards of life.

C. Collective Bargaining Means Bargaining Equality.

(Taken from an article in *Pattern Makers' Journal*, April-May, 1923, p. 7)

What does organized labor want? All it can get?

Not exactly, but something near it. The owner of property or merchandise, who desires to sell, wants the best price he can get. The buyer, also, would like to set the price. Bargaining results. The right to sell or keep, buy or refrain from buying is fundamental in our state of society.

Workers want the same relationship with labor buying employers as exists between sellers and buyers of merchandise and property. Any system which permits one party to a selling transaction to fix terms and price is top-heavy and dangerous, yet that is the state of things the

open shopper seeks. It is childish to argue that the individual selling his own labor can bargain with an employer who deals with labor in hundreds of units. Their degrees of need are too disproportionate. The employer can set the price at any figure he chooses and the worker, in many cases, is forced to accept. He doesn't even dare open his mouth about it, lest the job be withdrawn.

By organization, workers attain an importance as bargainers which gives them equal standing with the buying employer. He is in the market for labor. Labor is for sale.

Records of many strong American unions prove that collective bargaining is sound, that it vastly benefits the worker and works no hardship on the employing class. Indeed many employers would deeply regret loss of the opportunity to deal with workers on the "collective bargaining basis."

D. Collective Bargaining Aims at Industrial Peace.

(Taken from an article by Jacob McGinley, in *Amalgamated Journal*, January 29, 1920, p. 9)

There is an attitude of mind existing between capital and labor that must be removed, but how it can be done is a question. It can not be done on the individual plane. If the employer tried to do it that way and had a thousand men in his employ, and it took one hour to thrash it out with each workman, it would take a thousand hours of time to do it, and by the time the last man was disposed of, the first man would be waiting to take up his case again. It would become a perpetual hearing and would create still more unrest, and the question would never be solved. There is only one fair way to handle labor questions and that is through trained representatives of capital and labor handling their mutual problems in conferences.

Capital is organized and has trained men to look after its interests, and that is right. Employers believe they have that right, and I believe they stand on fair ground. Employers will take away from the ranks of labor the best man it has, and give him all the assistance possible to train his mind to look after their plants. That is right, for it takes trained men to run business. The rub comes in when employers oppose trained men being used by labor. Labor

must conduct its affairs on a business basis, just as employers do. Labor must have trained organizers to keep the organization out of strikes, which are a loss to all. Union men would like to see the day come when strikes will not be necessary, and they will not be when capital and labor will meet around the conference table and come to a common understanding through collective bargaining and pursue a policy of live and let live.

Are strikes a benefit to the workers, to the employers, and to the public? No! Then in what way can strikes be avoided? We men that believe in labor unions and have given a life study to this question, can only see one solution. The employees must organize in groups so as to be able to cooperate with each other financially and morally; to agree to take some one or small group of men in their ranks, to devote their entire time to the question of training their minds to take the labor power of the workers to the labor market and to bargain for it.

This is our plan. We do not propose to use might, as might is not right, so we ask the employer to meet us on common ground by their chosen representatives. In this way we have trained men both from the employees and the employing side. I ask the employer what there is in this plan that is not fair to the employer and employee? This is the principle of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of America as I understand them, so if the trusts and corporations of the steel mills have their organizations founded on these principles, let them come out of their shells and grant us the request we have been asking for and there will be no more strikes or lock-outs, as the negotiation can be done while the mills are in operation.

E. Employers' Associations Essential to Collective Bargaining.

(Taken from John Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, pp. 188-9, 192)

The attitude of organized workingmen should not be, and as a rule is not, hostile to the organization of employers. True, rare instances occur of trade unions, generally in the heyday of their youth and inexperience, assuming a superior attitude, refusing to have anything to do with

associations of employers, and insisting upon treating with their employers "as individuals." Nothing could be more subversive of union ideals, nothing more contrary to union traditions. Workingmen in asserting their right to combine are obliged, by the logic of their own demands, to concede an equal right to employers. The associations of employers have resulted from the formation of unions of workmen, and each organization should be of benefit to the other. Harmony in the industrial world will be best obtained by the creation and strengthening of labor unions and employers' associations and by the inculcation of a permanently friendly feeling between organized labor and organized capital.

Unions should not adopt an antagonistic policy towards organizations of employers, unless such organizations show themselves distinctly and unmistakably hostile to labor. It is, of course, natural that where trade unionists are assailed they should endeavor, as far as possible, to limit the power and avert the blows of their assailants; but in a general way the trade union, in the matter of friendliness to employers' associations, sets an example to the employers which the latter could advantageously follow. There are many employers who refuse to deal with trade unions because they render labor more formidable and, possibly, more exacting, even though they realize that the effect of trade unionism is also to make the men more reasonable and more conservative. Trade unions recognize that an association of employers is better able to combat them than a number of individual competing employers; but they also recognize that the association is, as a rule, more responsible, more conservative and better disposed than the individual employers of whom it is composed. The incentive to oppress labor is less strong and less direct. It is an undoubted fact that many an employer would be willing to do things in his own shop or mine which he would hesitate to submit as a proposed plan of action to the members of his association. In many cases, organizations of employers can, by the very fact of their association, make concessions to their workmen which none of the individual employers could separately have made. It frequently occurs that no one employer will raise wages because of the competition of other employers, whereas if all are

united into a single organization, it is possible for them to make this concession simultaneously.

In stating that trade unionists should not adopt an antagonistic attitude towards organizations of employers, it is not meant that they should take such means of defense against aggressive organizations as they may deem fit and proper. Where an association of employers is formed which has for its object the rooting out or crushing of trade unionism, the unions would be perfectly justified in meeting such with attack. If an organization specifically urges "that employers' associations set about the task of pulling up root and branch the un-American institution of trade unionism as at present conducted"¹ it may fairly be said that it does not invite and will not receive the hearty cooperation of trade unionists. I do not believe that any such association, even if formed with an avowedly hostile policy towards unions, will, in the long run, do anything but good for the trade union movement. An association of employers that does not recognize the essential merits and advantages of trade unions, but seeks to destroy or injure them, will sooner or later be confronted with the absolute undesirability and impossibility of the attainment of its aims and will either change its attitude or cease to exist. Some of these organizations, instituted originally for the purpose of "fighting labor" have been persuaded by the logic of circumstances into adopting at first a tolerant and, finally, a distinctly friendly attitude.

¹Quoted from the Annual Report of the President of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America, April, 1903. Its President, Mr. D. M. Parry, goes on to say that the attack should be made not against "unions in themselves" but against modern trade unionism.

CHAPTER XIX

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURE

A. Industrial Legislation by Trade Agreements.

(Taken from John Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, pp. 347, 351)

The hope of future peace in the industrial world lies in the trade agreement. There is nothing so promising to the establishment of friendly relations between labor and capital as the growing tendency of representatives of both sides to meet in friendly conference in order to settle conditions of employment. These conferences are as impressive as important. The men assembled in national joint convention represent two great estates, the employers and the workmen of a vast industry. It is like a congress legislating for a nation, or, rather, like a coming together of the representatives of two great nations, upon the basis of mutual respect and mutual toleration, for the formulation of a treaty of peace for the government of industry and the prosperity and welfare of the contracting parties.

Joint agreements are, in fact, treaties of peace determining the conditions under which the industry will be carried on for a year, although longer agreements have been made and maintained. The agreement usually provides for the settlement or arbitration of all controversies which may arise under it. It is provided, however, that the arbitration shall be in the nature, not of negotiation, not in a change of the conditions fixed by the agreement, but shall be limited entirely to the interpretation of the agreement. In the contracts existing in the bituminous coal mining industry, it is provided that in the case of a dispute arising between any operator and miner over a point covered by the interstate agreement that can not be settled between the parties directly at interest, appeals may be taken from one tribunal

to another until the court of last resort is reached. During the course of the dispute, however, the men remain at work and as a result of the trade agreement and of the provisions therein contained, the number of petty local strikes has been minimized and conflicts of this nature have almost entirely disappeared.

B. Trade Agreement Represents Essence of Unionism.

(Taken from John Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, pp. 350-1)

The trade agreement represents the very essence of trade unionism. In its simplest form the agreement is nothing but a determination of wages, hours of labor, and conditions of work by men in a single establishment or a single local community. From the very beginning of labor organization, agreements of this nature have been made by men working in the same establishment or the same town, and these agreements, whether verbal or written, have been binding upon all the men so engaged. These agreements have sometimes been nothing more than the simple formulation of shop rules, the determination of the length of the working-day, and similar matters, which have thus been taken out of the realm of individual bargaining between the employer and each separate employe, and have been incorporated into a contract binding upon all.

Trade agreements, therefore, even in their simplest form, represent the central idea for which trade unionism stands, viz., the collective or joint bargain, and they presuppose the existence of a union and, in the case of agreements upon a larger scale, associations of employers as well as of workmen. The difficulty in the way of forming trade agreements in the past has been this lack of organization upon the part of employers, and it has been largely due to the stimulus of trade unionism that employers have organized upon a national basis and have entered into yearly contracts with their workmen.

C. Trade Agreements Minimize Misunderstandings.

(Taken from John Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, pp. 352-3)

The advantages of the trade agreement, apart from its democratic character and its recognition of the rights and

obligations of both sides, is the knowledge which it gives to employer and workman of the condition under which labor is performed and the manner in which the industry is conducted. Before the era of trade agreements, the workmen were wont to exaggerate the profits of the employers, and to believe, frequently without cause, that they were being exploited. The employers, on the other hand, often failed to realize the effect upon the wages of the workmen of rising prices and increased cost of living and were liable to obtain from their foremen or others a false idea of the conditions under which their employes lived. There was often a feeling of superiority over the workmen and their representatives, which, as a result of all the trade agreements, is now being obliterated. Both sides enter the convention with the hope of securing a reasonable settlement, and any proposition made by either side is given a respectful hearing.

Trade agreements are a matter of business. The representatives of the employers do not desire to pay higher wages than are necessary, and the workmen do not wish to take smaller wages than they must. To this very fact, that the two parties must meet upon the plans of business, it is due that the best results are obtained. The attitude of mind which dictates the making of the ordinary business contracts prevails in the formulation of trade agreements. Instead of a loose, verbal agreement, the trade agreement is usually a written document, stating in precise terms its various provisions, so that there is little possibility of error. Moreover, for such difficulties as arise in interpretation, a system of arbitration is usually provided. Trade agreements thus obviate hundreds of little misunderstandings which might otherwise lead to recrimination and to strikes and lockouts. In the course of a few years of experience, therefore, the trade agreements become fixed upon a settled basis, and their general provisions become universally known.

D. Trade Agreements Imply Mutual Limitations.

(Taken from an editorial in *Justice*, November 5, 1920, p. 4)

There is a certain element in the labor movement that is opposed in principle to making agreements with em-

ployers. Their point of view is that a contract binds the workers hand and foot and makes it impossible for them in many cases to act in accordance with their convictions. In the case of a sympathy strike, for instance, workers who have contracts with their employers are compelled to remain in their shops, notwithstanding the ardent desire to aid their fellow workers in a just struggle. Frequently, a contract compels workers to bear in silence grievances which they entertain against their employers.

These arguments are quite sound. A contract is a double-edged weapon, and limits, to a certain extent, the freedom of the workers' action. But it limits to just as great a degree the freedom of action of the employer. A contract imposes certain obligations upon the latter which he must meet, and workmen who are not mere theoreticians, but practical persons are therefore willing to come to agreements with their employers, even though they know in advance that this agreement might deprive them of a certain amount of freedom to which they are fully entitled as intelligent and thinking men and women.

These calculations, however, have merit only when the workers are dealing with employers who have a sense of responsibility, and who, at least, live up to ordinary business morals and conventions. Such employers do not like the idea of being openly branded as violators of agreements. With such a class of employers it is worth while to conclude an agreement, as it may reasonably be expected that they would live up to its terms.

E. Trade Agreements Must be Sacredly Fulfilled.

(Taken from "Keeping Agreements," in *Shoe Workers' Journal*, pp. 12-13)

Of late there have been some instances where labor organizations have been disposed not to keep wage settlement agreements that have been previously made and that have not expired. In some instances they have chosen wisely to keep their agreements at the earnest solicitation of their leaders, while in some instances, they have gone out on illegal strikes in repudiation of all union laws and agreements to which they have assented.

We notice that very little is said about these matters in the labor press. Probably it is a natural dislike to print

anything that does not reflect credit upon the cause. We also dislike to mention this matter at this time but we feel compelled to because of its importance to the entire labor movement including ourselves.

The violation of a wage agreement by any labor organization is an injury to the movement. It is to be regretted because it brands such a body as unreliable and without any moral character or reputation. Anyone who does not keep his word is not entitled to the respect of his fellows and will not receive it.

Such violation is an injury because it tends to prevent future beneficial agreements being reached. If I make an agreement with a man and he does not keep it, why should I believe he would keep another one made on his part in equally bad faith? I am more likely to consider it a waste of time to talk with him about an agreement when I have no faith that he even intends to keep it. My confidence in him is destroyed and I want to have no further dealings with him.

Similarly his confidence in me is destroyed if I break my agreement with him. When I break my contract I destroy my future ability to make contracts no matter how favorable the opportunities may be for making beneficial contracts in the future.

The same rule applies to contracts made by labor unions with one very important difference. If I break my individual agreement and thus destroy my own reputation, I do not in so doing destroy the reputation of others. Others are not involved and therefore do not suffer damage. But when a labor union breaks its agreement or allows it to be broken by headstrong or rebellious members, it is cited as a proof of the unreliability of labor unions and their lack of responsibility on their contracts.

Every repudiation of wage settlement agreement by a labor union thus becomes an injury to every other labor union, to the entire movement and to every member thereof.

When two men have made an agreement, assuming mutual obligations for a specified time, good faith requires that each shall observe the conditions of the agreement until its expiration, even though subsequent events may make the agreement unfavorable to one or the other for some part of the unexpired time. Of course if they can mutually

agree to set the agreement to one side by putting a new one in its place, there has then been no act of bad faith and mutual confidence is preserved.

But if either party insists that the agreement be kept until its expiration, the other party must comply or sacrifice its contract reputation.

Likewise when a labor union makes a wage contract that looks good when made but while the agreement is running, new conditions arise so that the settlement or agreement begins to look old-fashioned, the only thing there is to do is to conform to the agreement until it has expired unless the employer is willing to join in a new agreement to take the place of the one that has not expired. Employers are altogether more likely to do this if they have confidence that the new agreement will be kept because past agreements have been kept.

In fact the real test of good faith comes in keeping agreements when they are not wholly satisfactory. If everything is smooth and pleasant, the honor of either side is not tested. Under any circumstances, it is better for the parties in immediate interest to suffer some real or fancied injustice for a few months than to sacrifice their own reputation and injure their fellows by repudiating their plighted word or any settlement made on their behalf by sanction of their vote or in the exercise of constitutional powers to which they have given their allegiance. In short nothing can justify any union or members thereof for violating its contract or allowing it to be violated.

F. Wanton Disregard of Agreements by Employers.

(Taken from Executive Council Report, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1922, pp. 36-38)

During the year the workers in a number of important industries have been compelled to resort to a cessation of work because of the tactics of organized employers. In every case that has come to our attention, however, it has been clear that there would have been no suspension of work had the employers been willing to meet with the workers in conference for the purpose of negotiating an agreement covering wages, hours and working conditions.

Among those who have been compelled to withdraw their service from industry because of the conduct of em-

ployers have been the miners, printers, granite workers, garment workers, butcher workmen and textile workers.

We feel it of some public importance to report that in an unusual number of instances during the year, great organizations of employers have wilfully and deliberately repudiated their contracts and broken their pledges to the workers. Whether this is an indication of a growing immorality in the business of the world we are unable to say, but we believe it nevertheless to be a fact of profound social importance and worthy of deep study. If the agreements of great organizations of employers are not to be regarded as pledges it will mean that we have come upon a new development which will have to be taken into account in future relations with employers.

As instances of breach of contract on the part of employers we cite the following cases:

The organized mine owners repudiated their agreement with the United Mine Workers of America compelling the mine workers to cease work. This agreement provided that prior to its expiration representatives of mine workers and mine owners should meet in conference for the purpose of negotiating a new agreement. The mine owners flatly refused to enter into such a conference thus making a new agreement impossible. For the most part the attitude of the mine owners was one of simple disregard for the pledges which they had made. Such excuses as they offered were entirely without value. Their transparency was so obvious that the mine owners soon ceased making excuses.

Packing house employers likewise were guilty of violation of agreements made with the workers and it was these violations that led to the necessity for a cessation of work in the packing industry.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers were compelled to resort to cessation of work for a like reason. Employers refused to abide by the terms of the contract which they had signed.

The contest going on in the printing industry among employers and the printing trades unions, involves a contemptuous disregard and flagrant violation of an agreement by employers and their associations which they had previously urged on the printing trades for acceptance. This agreement provided for the observance of the eight-

hour day and half-holiday—four-hour day on Saturday to become effective May 1, 1921.

From the time this national agreement was approved to May 1, 1921, every intervening agreement entered into between local employers and local printing trades unions was made with a full knowledge and understanding of the national agreement that on May 1, 1921, the 44-hour week would be observed as the law of the printing industry. By this procedure, all those employers who were not directly associated with the employers' organizations who had entered into this national agreement, indirectly became bound to its terms, conditions and requirements.

Regardless of this national agreement, supplemented by these direct and implied local agreements, when May 1, 1921, arrived, the printing trades employers disregarded and deliberately violated their agreements and the printing trades unions were forced either to strike to compel their employers to observe these contracts or else humiliatingly submit to the dishonorable and contract-breaking dictum of their employers.

This contest in the printing trades has been on ever since May 1, 1921, and despite adverse trade conditions and the highly concentrated attack that is being made, the printing trades unions have been making steady progress. With a revival of business in the industry, we feel assured of complete success in this struggle for the observance of agreements and the 44-hour week.

Quite apart from the struggle to enforce the 44-hour week, the International Photo Engravers' Union became involved in a national lockout on January 3, 1922, in an attempt on the part of the employers in that craft to increase the working week of the photo engravers from forty-four to forty-eight hours and in addition, to reduce the wages of all its members at least \$5 a week.

The photo-engravers were locked out throughout the country on January 3, but after having been out for a period ranging from one and a half to two weeks, the employers resumed restoration of wages and the 44-hour week.

Employers in the granite cutting industry are among those who have followed most arbitrary and autocratic policies during the year. The greater portion of the membership of the Granite Cutters International Association

of America is either locked out or on strike because of the refusal of the employers in that industry to meet with representatives of the workers for the negotiation of a new agreement. The old agreement expired on April 1, 1922, but a portion of the membership in California has been locked out since early in May, 1921.

In the textile industry the conduct of employers was particularly at fault and indicated an unusual greed. The workers in that industry previously had accepted a wage reduction of 22 per cent and it was because the employers sought to enforce an additional reduction of 20 per cent that the workers ceased work as the only means of resistance. As in every case the workers in the textile industry have stood their ground and while the suspension of work still exists the ranks of the strikers are unbroken and the determination to resist injustice is as great as it was at the outset.

We have recorded here only those violations of agreements by employers which are of national importance. There have been many other employers who have violated local agreements.

We feel that we should point out the vital necessity for scrupulous observance of all contracts and agreements on the part of employers as well as the workers. Labor has been ever most scrupulous in this regard and has urged always the necessity for keeping inviolate every pledge. There have been but few instances where organizations of the workers have repudiated their agreements. There have been many most serious cases where employers have been guilty of such repudiation. This is particularly true in regard to employers during the year just closed. Labor can not afford, however, to tarnish even in the slightest degree its record of integrity and honor. Labor standards must be the highest. They must be unassailable, always. Moreover, if agreements are not kept, agreements must soon lose their value. The pledge of Labor has been highly regarded because the pledges of Labor have been made to be kept. There must be no deviation from this honorable policy and where there is deviation, and therefore dishonor, the movement must find effective means for expression of its disapprobation.

G. Voluntary Arbitration is a Proceeding of Peace.

(Taken from "Arbitration," by Henry A. M'Anarney, in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, May, 1920, p. 441)

Arbitration is a proceeding of peace. It is invoked when parties in interest upon a definite principle or question can not reach a common understanding, and they lay the facts before a disinterested party. Its purpose is to maintain peace. To be successful in this purpose it must be voluntary and entered into in good faith. As an industrial measure, arbitration is a plan designed to take the place of the strike on the part of the worker and of the lockout on the part of the employer. It is, therefore, premised upon the right of the worker to create an issue of industrial questions—that is, of wages, working conditions, hiring and firing, and the hours of labor—and of the obligation of the employer to recognize the worker's rights in these particulars.

In an industry where these rights are conceded and a mutual desire to abide the results of arbitration prevails there need never arise the fear of industrial strife.

In an industry in which there is no such mutual desire, or where these rights are denied there can be no hope of avoiding industrial strife. And, even though there is no actual strike or lockout in such an industry, the conditions which develop through denial of these rights are baneful to production and a deterrent to progress. The human element, too, largely enters into production to ignore human relations, and where these relations are set aside by welding the man and the machine, and regarding them as a unit to be driven merely as a machine, the human element naturally will master the machine and permit it to produce as fancy wills. The result is restricted production, and no resource of management, of organization, or of speeding-up plans will prevent it so long as the hand of the dissatisfied worker, the man who is throbbing with the spirit of unrest, controls the machine.

Arbitration, then, is a development of the rights of the worker and a recognition of these rights by the employer.

H. Voluntary Arbitration Agreements Stimulate Mutual Adjustments.

(Taken from "Mutual Adjustments and Arbitration," in *Shoe Workers' Journal*, May, 1920)

Once again we feel called upon to impress upon the minds of our members the value of our policy of mutual adjustment and arbitration, the benefits of which become more and more apparent as time goes on. All of this rests upon our arbitration contract which we have been making for more than twenty years.

Arbitration, as a means of settling labor disputes, needs no argument to justify it. It is sufficient to say that nearly every important industrial dispute or strike is carried on if at all by reason of the fact that certain powerful employing interests may refuse to arbitrate. In nearly every long strike the strikers are willing to settle the strike on an agreement to arbitrate. The late steel strike took place mainly because the Steel Trust refused to arbitrate.

Now if a strike is desirable to be settled at some stage of its development by an agreement to arbitrate, how much better it must be for all concerned if an agreement to arbitrate already exists in anticipation of any differences that may subsequently arise. This is exactly the fortunate position we occupy and which avoids the suspension of work and the losses in Union funds and in wages that strikes entail.

More important still is the fact that the mere existence of an agreement to arbitrate any disputes that may arise, keeps both sides in a tranquil frame of mind and enables them to approach each difference or dispute on its merits without the heated atmosphere of a contemplated strike.

This leads to successful mutual adjustments instead of arbitration. Having accepted arbitration as a court of last resort, both sides endeavor to reach a settlement by mutual adjustment, thus avoiding the delays and expense of arbitration.

In the working out of our policy of arbitration, it has been found that mutual adjustment cases are ten times more numerous than cases of actual arbitration. With arbitration as the sheet anchor, we settle more and more

of our disputes by mutual adjustment without either strikes or arbitration.

During, and since the war period, the policy of mutual adjustment has given our members most substantial results. Increases in wages have been repeated. Our members have received dividends in their union dues of thousands per cent without risk or loss. At this time, when we are experiencing a slack period in shoe manufacturing, the spirit on both sides is good within our jurisdiction.

The policy that has worked well in peace time, in war time and in times of rush of production, is also good in periods of dullness. Our policy of peaceful adjustment and arbitration is counted as an asset by the manufacturers who do business with our local unions under our international policy and contracts and we hear no rumors of impending strife.

Every member of this Union has a right to feel proud of his membership and of his participation in a movement of such pronounced success in practical betterments without losses. What we gain we gain on the merits of each particular case and what we gain we keep. All the while we are constantly adding to the numerical and financial strength of the Union, always placing our union in a still stronger position for the future.

Let us never for one moment forget that our very satisfying position is due primarily to the arbitration theory. Along with this goes an obligation of absolute fidelity to our contract obligations which we must not suffer to be impaired in the slightest degree. Let it be known even more strongly and the future will give us still greater advantages from our policy of mutual adjustment and arbitration.

I. Voluntary Arbitration Has Many Shortcomings.

(Taken from "The Essential Principles for Adjustment of Industrial Disputes," by John P. Frey in *International Molders' Journal*, November, 1922, p. 613)

Voluntary arbitration has been held up as an ideal method, and unquestionably it possesses great value in exceptional cases, particularly as a first aid to the injured, but just as we would be unwilling to have the legislation

we desire as citizens submitted to some third party for arbitration, so both management and labor except in extreme cases have preferred some other method.

When an industrial dispute occurs, voluntary arbitration is frequently recommended to both parties. Sometimes it is willingly accepted by both sides, but generally the party to the dispute who feels that their strength and position will enable them to win the contest, opposes arbitration, while those who believe they occupy the weaker position advocate it. While invaluable for temporary purposes there is little in the experiences following voluntary arbitration which would recommend it as a universal method of adjusting industrial problems and the human relationships involved in them. If those involved in an industrial dispute can not adjust their differences themselves, it is scarcely possible that outsiders can do this for them, and this is particularly true where technical problems are involved, the rules and methods of shop practice and the many other conditions which are peculiar in themselves to each industry.

Many years ago there was a dispute in the printing trades of New York City. Their agreement with the employers provided that when they could not adjust their problems these would be presented to a third party for arbitration. A most able and highly respected bishop was selected as arbitrator, and finally the opposing groups gathered to hear his award. As he read it both sides realized how utterly impractical the award was, and how impossible it would be for either side to carry it into effect. After thanking the bishop for his kind services in their behalf, they then did what they should have done in the beginning, discussed the problem and mutually agreed upon its adjustment.

There is one feature connected with voluntary arbitration which, in the long run, is fatal to the establishing of satisfactory and just relations between management and labor. The atmosphere of a voluntary arbitration is not that of conciliation and negotiation. Unfortunately, it is that of the courtroom, and the efforts of representatives to sway the arbitrator's judgment, in much the same manner as the shrewd and able attorney endeavors to influence the jury in his clients' welfare. Men who expect in advance

to have their dispute submitted to voluntary arbitration make demands which they would not otherwise present, because of the expectation that the arbitrator will seek some middle road. They present their case before the arbitrator in an entirely different spirit from that which prevails when the employers and wage-earners face each other around the conference table, and in the spirit of conciliation and negotiation endeavor to reach a basis of agreement which both are willing to accept. The spirit of arbitration, like the spirit and ideals of Christianity, is an absolute necessity, but something in addition is required, because even in the most Christian nations and communities men have found that they can not depend alone upon the spirit of Christianity for the solution of their everyday problems and the protection of their rights and property. From my experience and observation as a trade-unionist I am convinced that voluntary arbitration at the best can only play a minor subordinate part in the efforts which men must make in industry to adjust their differences.

. . . Where is the method, where are the principles which can guide us so that we will have cooperation instead of conflict in industry? As an American citizen I find them in the methods and principles of my country's government. I find them in the Federal Constitution. I find them in those principles and methods of democracy by which, as a people, we have endeavored to solve our civil problems. I find them in applying to industry the same method which we have to legislation under which every man has a voice in determining the laws under which he will live. The principles and the methods of self-government by citizens, hold equally sound in self-government in industry, and where employers and employes have applied these principles and methods to their relationship, they have made the only progress towards establishing methods by which just industrial relationships can be established without strikes and lockouts.

There are many illustrations which I could give, but I choose to select a branch of my own industry. For many years the stove foundrymen and the union molders considered that they had no common interests. That inherently they were enemies. Their relationships and terms of employment were determined by arbitrary force and fluctu-

ating conditions of trade, and not upon mutual consent or agreement. Very stormy experiences were passed through, but eventually wiser men, statesmanlike minds, realized that might or arbitrary power or dictation could not establish cooperation or just conditions.

The representatives of both sides finally entered into an agreement which for over thirty years has prevented strikes and lockouts, an agreement in which the legislative, executive, and judicial features have been established. The industrial law in this industry is not enacted by either the employers or by the employees. It is something that is enacted by a joint body representing both groups, and their respect and obedience to these laws, which are known as the Conference Agreements, are thorough-going, because these laws are something which they have enacted for their mutual government. They are not like the awards of an arbitration or of an industrial court which are as unsatisfactory to the dissatisfied parties as a civil law would be which was enacted by powers outside of the citizens themselves.

Those who play the game must have a voice in determining the rules. Those who live under a government must have a voice in determining the laws. Those who participate in industry, whether as management or labor, must have an opportunity and a voice in determining the terms of employment and the relationship which shall exist. The hope for the future in our industries lies in the field of collective bargaining. The greatest progress which has ever been made in adjusting industrial relationship has been through collective bargaining, and every other method which has ever been tried has failed. We no longer hesitate to place our entire confidence in the institutions of our country. We realize their value today even more than our forefathers who gave the priceless gift of free government to us. We have found from experience, and by watching the experiences of other countries that our form of government enables the people to more readily and effectively solve their problems than any other form of government which has yet been developed. It is in the application of these same methods and principles to industry that we will find the only safe, sane and practical adjustment of the problems which must continually arise in industry. The true

American plan in industry is the application of the democratic methods and principles to the industrial relationship. There must be less faith in the value of compulsion, and much greater confidence in the honesty of motive and purpose of the average man, for an industrial relationship erected upon a basis of compulsion must be as great a failure as a civilization having compulsion instead of freedom at its base.

CHAPTER XX

MENACES TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Section I. The "Open Shop"

A. "Open Shop" Means Anti-union Shop and Autocracy in Industry.

(Taken from "The Heart of the Struggle," an address by Samuel Gompers under the auspices of the Student Liberal Club of Harvard University, March 10, 1921, printed in *American Federationist*, May, 1921, pp. 377, 380-1)

The titles "open-shop" and "closed-shop" are both misnomers—both the terminology of the opponents of labor. Incalculable mischief results from general acceptance of wrong definitions in relation to public questions and issues. Not infrequently the public belies its claim to enlightenment by clinging year after year to a falsehood in the face of the proof of falsehood. The effort of hostile employers to break down the union movement through the establishment of non-union shop conditions is a case in point.

Employers hostile to trade unionism long ago gave to the union shop the name "closed shop." They also coined the term "open shop" to describe the kind of shop which it was their aim to operate in opposition to the union shop.

There is such a thing as an open shop, but it is not the kind of shop that employers mean when they say "open shop," and least of all is it the kind of shop that is meant by enemies of labor.

The labor movement has time after time defined clearly all of these terms. Their misuse continues, and for that reason it may serve some purpose and may break down

some small amount of misapprehension if they are defined again.

The union shop is a shop in which there is a definite agreement between the employer and the workers as an organized unit. In union shops non-union workers sometimes are employed, but only when union men can not be had. Most agreements provide that when no union workmen are to be had non-union workers may be employed, with the proviso that they make application for union membership within a reasonable period of time.

The non-union shop is a shop in which union men are not employed, in which there is no organization of the workers and in which the workers, as a consequence, have no voice in the determination of questions which affect them. In such shops the dictum of the employer is final as to all things and his right of discrimination or discharge for any reason or for no reason is absolute.

The anti-union shop—and that is generally the “open shop”—is a shop in which the employer pursues a militant policy in opposition to organization. It is the shop of the crusading employer, bent upon maintaining industrial autocracy and upon restoring it where trade unionism has broken it down.

The kind of shop which certain employers' associations today are endeavoring to establish under the name “open shop” is, in reality, the anti-union shop.

The “open shop” crusade is not what its name implies. It is a crusade against unionism. It is a crusade to break down the organized labor movement and to restore industrial oligarchy.

There is no such thing as an “open shop” campaign in America. Every person who has the opportunity to speak or to write, who has the opportunity to convey information and counsel to his fellows, owes it as a duty to truth to expose and condemn this fraud.

What there is in America is a campaign on the part of autocratic employers to kill trade unionism in order that non-union shops may be conducted, wherein conditions of labor long since abolished in union shops may obtain without audible protest from silent, powerless workers.

B. Freedom of Contract and Slavery.

(Taken from an editorial, "Individual Contract," in *Granite Cutters' Journal*, June, 1921, p. 5)

The individual contract used by anti-union employers is contemptuously referred to as "yellow dog" by trade unionists.

To secure employment where this contract operates the worker must pledge not to join a trade union or encourage the formation of same while so employed.

The United States Supreme Court upheld this contract (*Hitchman vs. Mine Workers*) and sustained an injunction against unionists who were charged by a West Virginia coal company with interfering with one of the "yellow dogs."

The acknowledged basis of a contract is free and voluntary action by both parties.

Courts invariably void contracts when made by duress, pressure, or coercion.

What choice has the worker seeking employment with hungry babes in his home when an employer offers him a job if he signs away his lawful right to join a trade union?

How much free will has this worker when his family is threatened with eviction because he is unable to pay the rent?

What self-control has he when he knows that if he stands on his legal rights and refuses to accept employment under this agreement, others will suffer because he is alone in his fight for right?

What respect can workers have for courts that defend the "yellow dog" on the ground of "sacredness of contract"?

Contracts are based on freedom of action, but when one of the parties uses his unequal power to force the other to accept, the first principle of contracts is outraged.

It may be said that a worker can seek work elsewhere.

That is no answer to the question. Whether he gets work elsewhere or whether he does not has nothing to do with courts throwing the power of government in favor of a contract that forces men not to do a thing that they have a legal right to do.

What kind of a public policy is it to acknowledge that

workers have the legal right to join a trade union and then permit injunction judges to assist employers to annul that right?

A contract should be based on mutuality. The "yellow dog" is based on force by one of the parties and on necessity by the other.

It is unfair, unmoral and unsocial. It does not contain a single element of contract theory and ignores the first essential of contract making.

C. The Labor Spy is a Disrupter and Negator of Liberty.
(Taken from President James O'Connell's Reports, Metal Trades Department, *Proceedings*, 1921, p. 27; 1922, p. 20)

For years the various detective agencies have succeeded in securing the services of men carrying union cards to act as spies and informers in order that the information secured may be sold to employers and the normal activities of the unions wherever possible prevented. The present activity of these agents surpasses all records.

It is well known that these men are employed not only to report what is going on in the various unions, but also if there is apparently any inactivity in the ranks of the unions, they are advised to stir matters up and encourage the membership to some drastic action in order that the agent may prove to the employer the efficiency of his system.

These so-called operators work in various ways and by all sorts of methods. They report men who are active in the unions as being dangerous characters. They usually try to become officers of the local unions and are very often successful; they misappropriate the funds of the union; they endeavor by underhanded methods to destroy the union; they misrepresent the activities or inactivities of the international officers to the local membership; they endeavor to sow the seed of dissension between the local union and the international; in a word, they are employed to destroy the union or to so weaken its usefulness as to make it of no value. None of our organizations are free from these traitors.

It is almost impossible any more to transact any of the legitimate business of the trade union in confidence or for the officers to advise with each other without having the results furnished to employers and detective agencies. It seems no matter how small a conference may be or how insignificant its purposes, it is found later that a fairly complete report is in the hands of the employers and the agencies. On two occasions recently, brief conferences were called by me, with a limited number of persons present. Later it was found that a certain employer had been furnished with almost a verbatim report of the conference and the names of those who were present. This case is cited, not because of its importance, but to indicate to you the ramifications of these detective agencies and the immense sums of money that must be spent by the employers to keep in close touch with the doings of our international officers, our local unions, and our Department.

A few months ago a certain employment agency, operating also a detective or operators' agency, was employed to advertise in the daily papers for mechanics to act as "operators." In less than twenty-four hours more than five hundred men had made application to become "operators," the greater portion of this number indicated that they carried union cards and the balance gave assurance that if it was necessary to carry union cards they could secure the same without question.

So much has been written upon this question that it is unnecessary other than to direct your attention to the importance of this matter at this time. The punishment meted out to operators or detectives in the ranks of labor is the usual fine or expulsion—there the matter drops. It seems to me that we should adopt some more drastic plan of treating with members of our organizations who desire to follow this line of employment. Publicity is the most effective weapon that can be employed, and if our international organizations were to establish a system whereby a full description of every member found guilty of becoming a detective, operator, informer, or spotter was to be published regularly, either in the monthly journals or by circular letter, and these lists interchanged between all our

affiliated organizations it would, I am sure, aid us in riding organizations of this class of membership and be an effective reminder to others not to follow in their footsteps.

A well-defined and united effort should be made to cleanse our organizations of these traitorous derelicts. If expulsion and public exposure are not sufficient to purge the unions of these hirelings then a much more severe and drastic punishment must be administered.

D. The Union Shop and Freedom.

(Taken from "The Union Shop and Freedom," by Samuel Gompers, in an A. F. of L. pamphlet)

The synonyms for "union" shop and "non-union" shop respectively are "democracy" and "autocracy." In the union shop the workers are free men. They have the right of organizing in trade unions and to bargain collectively with their employers through representatives of their own choosing. Employees in the non-union shops are like cogs in a machine. They have nothing to say as to conditions under which they will work, but must accept any wages, hours, and working conditions that may be fixed arbitrarily by the employer.

A non-union man who accepts employment in a union shop has the privilege of joining the union which has a voice in determining with employers the wages, hours and conditions of work. He is given time in which to make application, if he so desires.

No union man, if known, is permitted by the employers to work in a non-union shop.

Men who believe that the Chinese Exclusion law should be repealed, who believe the Literacy Test should be repealed, who believe that hordes of illiterate immigrants from southeastern Europe should be permitted to enter the United States as freely as citizens of this country pass from state to state, are the men who object to the union shop. They believe in autocracy in industry. They hope to use these hordes to lower the standard of living of the workers of the United States. Furthermore, they will fight to the last ditch to prevent the taking away from them of the arbitrary power of dictating wages, hours and conditions of employment to the workers in their employ.

Section II. Company Unions and Welfare Work

A. Imposing Unions on Employees.

(Taken from an editorial, "Unions Necessary," in *Railroad Telegrapher*, December, 1923, pp. 1161-2)

Is there anyone so dense as not to know that the only reason for the existence of Company Unions is the desire to prevent employees from having a real organization? No one is so poor in sense as to really believe that such "organizations" really represent any thing or body except the "Company." Some years ago a gentleman named Baer, of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal Co., declared that God had placed the owners of coal mines in trusteeship over those they employed; that those gentlemen trustees knew what was good for the workers and no one had any right to interfere with that trusteeship. He intimated that those who sought to better the condition of the miners in the trusteeship of himself and others were blasphemously interfering with the work of God, and that no good could come from attempts to interfere with the Deity.

When Mr. Baer said that, there went up from press and pulpit, forum and meeting place, Congress and the platform, a howl of denunciation so shocking to the gentleman that he never recovered from the effects. From President down all officialdom took him to task and castigated him to the Queen's taste. Yet what is the difference between those who impose Company Unions on workers and Mr. Baer? None at all. They both hold to the same belief and share it to the same degree, if not in the same words, as he did.

Read any pronunciamento issued by those favoring such "organizations" and in every sentence can be found the same theory of "Trusteeship." What else have they to offer as a "reason" for Company Unions? What other "reason" could they possibly offer?

Then note this: Company Unions are never imposed on employees until and when real unions loom up as capable of organizing such employees. No employe ever received, of his or her own motion, a Company Union or an "Employees' Representation." True there are claims made that in some instances employees have suggested such things.

But, then, the word "Employee," like Charity, covers a multitude of sins as well as individuals. A vice-president has been called an "employee." As for "suggestion," that also is a weak sister. We have known lots of "suggestions" to be offered by those previously "suggested." The plain and plenty fact is that no employee of his or her own motion ever thought such a freak thought as that. They couldn't.

From all the foregoing we reach the inescapable conclusion, proven on the face of the statement, that with real unionism out of the way and no fear of it in the minds of "trustees," the Company Union and the "Employees' Representation" would be incontinently kicked into the limbo of forgotten things and the "Trustees" would again be at the work of paying wages so low that local, state and other charitable bodies would be compelled to make up the amount necessary to provide a mere living, all hours would be working hours and men could be arbitrarily and for no reason fired, blacklisted and hounded into early graves.

The union man needs his union, and needs it badly—the non-unionist needs it as badly and more. Therefore every real man, every thinking man, every true man who works for his wages, will join the real union and keep his membership therein. The non-unionist should join because without the union he is lost.

B. Company Union Closed Shop.

(Taken from "The Union Pacific Would Form a Company Union," in *Boilermakers' Journal*, October, 1922, pp. 456-7)

The officials of the Union Pacific System have thrown off the mask of fairness which they have tried to assume for a long time and are now trying to start a company union and they are so industrious and obliging they will relieve members of the trouble of attending meetings and transacting business and will attend to these matters for them. Here are the terms and conditions of membership, which evidently is intended also as constitution and by-laws, except such as the bosses add verbally from day to day:

(a). The application for employment shall be deemed an application for admission to membership in "The Shop Employees' Association—Union Pacific System" and final

acceptance of such application, shall automatically admit me to membership in said association, and I agree to abide by the constitution and by-laws thereof.

(b). I hereby authorize the duly accredited representatives of said association to represent me in all matters whatsoever pertaining to rules governing working conditions and rates of pay obtaining or which shall obtain for services that I will perform, and I agree to accept and abide by the rules governing working conditions and rates of pay that have been or may hereafter be agreed to between such duly accredited representatives and the company in whose employ I may be.

(c). I further agree that in event I shall become a member during period of my employment with this company of any labor organization or association other than the "Shop Employees' Association—Union Pacific System" which claims or assumes to legislate for me or negotiate agreements respecting rules governing working conditions or rates of pay for services which I will then be performing, that this application for employment shall be deemed my resignation which the company at its option may accept at any time subsequent to my becoming a member of any such labor organization or association.

(d). I hereby request, authorize and direct the company in whose employ I may be to deduct quarterly in advance whatever dues or assessments that may be levied against me as a member of "The Shop Employees' Association—Union Pacific System" such dues or assessments to be deducted in the months of January, April, July, and October of each year from the preceding month's pay, and pay same into the bank designated by said association as its depository and to its credit. (Signed by employe.)

The above paragraphs show conclusively that the officials of this company do not want to deal fairly with its employes, but would place them in the condition of slaves, who dare not say their soul was their own. Millions of our fellow countrymen went to Europe and fought, suffered and bled, and more than fifty thousand of them offered up their lives, and the rest of us gave of our means "until it hurt" in order to make the world safe for democracy, and at this early date we find these petty tyrants trying to establish an industrial despotism right in our midst.

We don't believe they will be able to get away with it, or that any self-respecting man would sign or accept such degrading conditions. We heard a lot about the wickedness of the check-off system in use by the mine workers who authorize their officers to collect their dues from their employer and turn it into their treasury, however, you will notice in the paragraph marked (d) that the check-off is to be used with a vengeance, it authorizes the company to deduct quarterly in advance whatever dues or assessments that may be levied. This whole scheme smells to heaven with rottenness, on the face of it, it looks as if the officials of this company were planning an extensive system of graft, they are the ones to levy these dues and assessments and to determine how large they are to be and to have full charge of spending them, and they would force the applicant to agree to authorize them to take these sums out of their pay envelopes in advance. With a full force of employes at work on this extensive system, hundreds of thousands could be easily taken from the men. The whole scheme from start to finish is rotten to the core.

C. How Non-union Collective Bargaining Functions.

(Taken from "Non-Union Collective Bargaining," by David Williams, in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, October, 1919, pp. 897-9)

Probably no subject before our members today is worthy of more careful consideration than the efforts of the large corporations to install in their plants and have accepted by their employes the so-called "Plans of Collective Bargaining" compiled by company lawyers and approved by directors of the company, to be used by the company manager to keep out of the plant any form of collective bargaining that will prove of benefit to the employes.

The center of the fight around these "company unions" seems to be in the Steel Mill District and being one of many members active in trying to organize the employes of the Steel Mills, the writer will try to point out the effects of the installation of one of these plans in any plant upon the work of organizing under the American Federation of Labor.

There are several reasons why the companies are try-

ing to put in one of these unions, viz.: the company makes the constitution, decides how the committeemen shall be elected, creates all kinds of subcommittees, provides for the meetings of these committees on the premises of the company; also insists upon having equal representation with employes on Election Boards when employes' committees are elected, and finally insists that a Joint Committee of a small number from both the employes and company shall act as a final board whose decision shall be binding on any matter brought before it for action.

Anyone experienced in these matters knows that the purpose of the labor union, at least the International Association of Machinists, is to keep the final decision on any matter with the rank and file. The company union proceeds along the lines that the employes elect the committeemen, and after the election occurs, the employe must at all times go along with the decision of the Joint Committee, usually composed of five men representing the employes and five representatives of the company. When these ten men sit in conference on a case, the company side will never waver from their position but in almost every case at least one of the weak-minded representatives of the employes can be brought over and the result is a majority vote in favor of the company by the Joint Committee of Appeals, or the "Joint Lynching Committee" as it should be called. After a few cases have been put before a committee of this kind by the employes, they generally become so disgusted that no further efforts are made to take advantage of a plan of collective bargaining as it means so little to them.

In the meantime the company is advertising the splendid plan it has established for dealing with its employes. We find magazine articles telling what a fine thing for the employes these plans are, and yet the actual truth is that men are made nothing less than "industrial serfs" under such a plan.

For the purposes of illustrating the difference between the company union and the American Federation of Labor, let us consider the method being used by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. This corporation is divided into two parts, the Shipbuilding Company and the Steel Company.

The various plants of the Shipbuilding Company are

working under a solid union agreement with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, signed under date of January 7, 1919. The Bethlehem Plant of the Steel Company is just instituting a Plan of Collective Bargaining, signed by the representatives of the employes and company officials, May 1, 1919, after the National War Labor Board made the final decisions on disputed points. The other Steel Mills are working under the company form of organization, so that we find three distinct plans of collective bargaining being used by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

In the selection of committeemen the Shipbuilding Company allows the selection of Craft Committees, which as organizations we contend for at all times. In the Steel Mills the employes must be content with Departmental Committees and we often find a laborer who has been elected trying to represent the interests of skilled mechanics, or a carpenter representing a machinist. This is one of the methods used to break up the craft unions by making them useless.

The qualifications for committeemen in the Shipbuilding plants are two weeks' continuous service with the company; while in the Steel Mills by the company plan a committeeman must be 21 years of age, have worked for the company six months and be an American citizen, and at the Bethlehem plant he must be an American citizen or have taken out his first papers and worked four months at some time for the company, but is not compelled to have worked four consecutive months before election.

Nomination in the shipyards consists of posting the names of the applicants on Bulletin Boards, while at the Bethlehem Plant nomination petitions carrying at least 10 per cent of the employes' signatures of any particular department is the method used, while where the company has control without interference from the employes, secret nominations are made by elections so that the company can manipulate affairs to force a division of the employes at all times and elect the company favorites for committees.

Elections in all plants are held on the premises of the company, the only difference being that in the shipyard plants, unless a better method is approved by the men, a representative of the union and a representative of the com-

pany supervise the elections. In the Bethlehem plant the Election Board is composed entirely of employes, the company being allowed a representative to check off the voters. All decisions regarding contests, etc., are decided wholly by the General Committee of the employes. In the other Steel Mills the Election Board is made up jointly of company officials and employes' representatives.

The International Association of Machinists elected 117 members of the General Committee from 16 departments at the first election held in the Bethlehem plant, or 100 per cent of all machine shop committee members, men and women. In an election to fill vacancies of committeemen held recently we also elected 14 more and at present all committeemen from machine departments are members of our organization.

The greatest obstacle is to get the company to adjust any grievances. In the shipyards the Final Board of Adjustment is a Joint Committee of five International Presidents and five representatives of the company. While this appears to be the same kind of a Joint Committee as that provided by the company plan, still there is a great difference in having five International Presidents trained and able to protect the interests of the workers as their representatives as compared to having five employes, in some cases with no training in labor union matters, acting as a Final Board in making decisions affecting the interests of the employes. In the Bethlehem Plant after months of opposition to the company plan, the National War Labor Board granted the employes the right to insist that all subcommittees of the General Committee are only conference committees and must report back to the General Committee.

The company plan also contains provision for dividing the General Committee into some 13 subcommittees, upon various subjects with others suggested by the men such as "Committee on Rumors," "Committee on Lonesome Faces," and the "Double Cross Committee." The Bethlehem General Committee selects such subcommittees as are necessary from time to time, but has consistently kept away from having the time of the men taken up with useless matters.

The Bethlehem Company advertises how well its plan works in the various mills, yet at the Lebanon Plant the

men have been on strike for over three months at this writing against a reduction in wages. Most of the men there are members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and when the committee from this organization tried to wait upon the company officials in protest to the cut in wages, this committee was informed that it had no standing as the men had voted for the committeemen under the company plan of organization, and that committee had jurisdiction. The active men who might have helped the employes in their fight against a cut in wages had been laid off and those remaining were unable to help the employes, with the result that this company plan works so well that the entire plant is tied up.

At Bethlehem the men have fought consistently for the extension of the Metal Trades Department agreement to this plant and during the negotiations made this request to the company, and from present indications the employes here realize the evil effects of the company organization.

While a definite statement is made in the company plan that

"The representation of employes, as hereinafter provided, shall in no way abridge or conflict with the right of the employes to belong to labor unions," still to accept the company plan is to nullify any benefits that may come from the American Federation of Labor unions during the time for which the company plan covers the jurisdiction of committeemen elected under the company unions. In some cases we even find steel companies forcing committeemen to take an oath to support the company plan of organization.

Yet we are told that "the plan in no way abridges or conflicts with the right of employes to belong to labor unions"; but the writer can not understand how a committeeman swearing allegiance to a dual company union could do any effective work through membership in a labor union.

Right here at Bethlehem we had to guard at all times against the company offering bribes to the influential committeemen, and with the Plan of Collective Bargaining in effect only three months we find the subcommitteemen being called into the office and requested to recommend to the other committeemen various matters which the company officials want to put over on the men. This method

is used where the company controls the committeemen, and we can only expect the company to try the same tactics here, but we are trying to meet them at every point.

Probably the best argument for our members against falling for the evils of a company union is the wage rates of 80 cents per hour for machinists and 86 cents for tool-makers by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in the ship-yards, with double time for Sunday work and holidays and time and one-half for other overtime, while under the Company Plan of Collective Bargaining the machinists in the steel mills get just what the company wants to give them, and men performing work which comes under the classification of machinists' work are paid anywhere from 40 to 55 cents per hour and very rarely any higher on an hourly basis, being compelled to work piece-work or on a bonus system to get higher wages than the rates quoted above.

The National War Labor Board in the rulings on the award known as Docket No. 22 provided for minimum hourly rates of 72 cents per hour for the machinists of the Bethlehem Plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company. These rates were to take effect August 1, 1918, but up to this writing—over one year from date—have not been put into effect by the Government or company. Yet practically all the work done in the Bethlehem Plant at this time is for the United States Government.

The men in this plant are determined not to accept the company union idea and are striving to get under the Metal Trades Department agreement covering all trades. Thousands have been laid off in the past few months which has handicapped us greatly in the fight, but with conditions becoming more favorable in the steel mills all sections should make a determined effort to secure the right of organization under the American Federation of Labor.

All kinds of substitutes such as profit sharing, Shop Committee Plans, Company Plans of Collective Bargaining, etc., are offered because these substitutes are controlled by the companies, while the employes think they have organization, and the companies are safer in their methods of exploitation than if no organization existed in these plants. But the workers must wake up to the dangers facing them in these company unions and fight them to a

finish, or a state of industrial slavery will be established in our big steel mills before it is realized by the employes.

D. Company Union Poor Substitute for Trade Union.

(Resolution No. 201, introduced by request of the National Committee for Organizing the Iron and Steel Workers, by Delegates John G. Owens, Cleveland Federation of Labor, and Henry W. Raisse, Lorain Central Body, and adopted by A. F. of L. convention, *Proceedings*, 1919, pp. 249-50)

Whereas, Many steel corporations and other industrial institutions have instituted in their plants systems of collective bargaining akin to the Rockefeller plan; and

Whereas, Extensive experience has shown that while the employers are busily carrying on propaganda lauding these company unions to the skies as a great improvement over trade unions, they are at the same time just as actively enforcing a series of vicious practices that hamstring such organizations and render them useless to their employes. Of these practices the following are a few:

1. Unfair Elections and Representation—The first essential for the proper working of a genuine collective bargaining committee is that it be composed entirely as the organized workers may elect and altogether free from the company's influence. Only then can it be truly representative of the men and responsive to their wishes. Upon such committees, bosses, representing as they do the antagonistic interests of the company, are so much poison. Not only is it impossible for them personally to represent the men, but they also negate the influence of the real workers' delegates. Knowing this very well, the steel companies, through campaigns of intimidation and election fraud, load their company union committees with bosses, usually to the point of a majority. So baneful is this practice that, were the company unions otherwise perfect, it alone would suffice to entirely destroy their usefulness to the workers.

2. No Democratic Organization Permitted—It is common knowledge that, in order for the workers to arrive at a uniform understanding through the systematization and formulation of their grievances and demands, it is necessary for them to enjoy and practice the rights of free speech, free assembly and free association. They must conduct an

elaborate series of meetings under their own control, and generally carry on their business in a democratic, organized way. But with the company union system this is impossible. All independent organizations and meetings are prohibited on pain of discharge. Consequently the workers are kept voiceless and destitute of a program. They are deliberately held down to the status of a mob. Under such circumstances, intelligent, aggressive action by them is out of the question.

3. Intimidation of Committeemen—As part of the general plan to keep their company unions from being of any possible service to their employes, it is customary for the companies to summarily discharge committeemen who dare to make a stand on behalf of the workers. The records show a multitude of such cases. Being unorganized, the men are powerless to defend their representatives. The natural consequence is that the committee soon degenerates into groups of men supinely subservient to the wishes of the company and deaf to those of the workers.

4. Expert Assistance Prohibited—When dealing with their employes in any manner, employers always thoroughly safeguard themselves by enlisting the aid of the very best brains procurable. The only way the workers can cope with this array of experts is to have the help of experienced labor leaders, but under the company union system this is impossible. All association with trade union officials is strictly prohibited. The company reserves to itself the right to expert assistance. As a result the green workers' committee, already weakened in a dozen ways is left practically helpless before the experts on the company's side.

5. Company Union Lacks Power—In establishing wages, hours and working conditions in their plants, employers habitually use their great economic power to enforce their will. Therefore to secure just treatment, the only recourse for the workers is to develop a power equally strong and to confront the employers with it. Unless they can do this their case is hopeless. In this vital respect, the company union is a complete failure. With hardly a pretense of organization, unaffiliated with other groups of workers in the same industry, destitute of funds, and unfitted to use the strike weapon, it is totally unable to force its will, should it by a miracle have one favorable to the

workers. Weak and hopeless, all it can do is to submit to the dictates of the company. It can make no effective fight for the men.

6. Company Diverts Aim—As though the foregoing practices were not enough to thoroughly cripple the company unions, the employers make assurance doubly sure by seeing to it that their committees ignore the vital needs of the workers and confine themselves to minor and extraneous matters, such as fake safety-first movements, problems of efficiency, handing bouquets to high company officials, etc. Discussions of wages, hours and working conditions are taboo on pain of discharge for the committeeman who dares insist upon them. Thus the company unions complete their record of deceit and weakness by dodging the labor question altogether.

Whereas, In view of the foregoing facts, it is evident that company unions are unqualified to represent the interests of the workers, and that they are a delusion and a snare set up by the companies for the express purpose of deluding the workers into the belief that they have some protection and thus have no need for trade union organization, therefore be it

Resolved, That we heartily condemn all such company unions and advise our membership to have nothing to do with them; and be it further

Resolved, That we demand the right to bargain collectively through the only kind of organization fitted for this purpose, the trade union, and that we stand loyally together until this right is conceded us.

E. Paternalism and Welfare Work Designed to Deadend Initiative and Independence.

(Taken from an editorial, "Contented Cows," in *American Federationist*, September, 1923, p. 760)

So-called social welfare programs of many industrial corporations remind one poignantly of that much-advertised condensed milk slogan, "Milk from contented cows." It expresses a paternalistic policy that is associated with pastoral simpleness. It is the ideal that the employer would impose who is satisfied with life and would have no change, who would like to have his workmen perform like

cows that resignedly chew their cud and submissively give sweet milk.

Because men are not constituted like cows, much of the welfare endeavor of employers is doomed to failure. Up to a certain point workmen of the self-respecting kind will accept the same kind of treatment a farmer gives his cow. Farmers provide nice stalls, regulate the food, supply fresh air, produce good drinking water and keep a veterinary handy so that his animals may give good milk or do good work. On the theory that similar treatment will increase efficiency if applied to workmen, it has become popular for employers to make much of housing programs, dietetic supervision, sanitation, hospitalization, visiting nursing, and recreation for employes. But it is absurd to imagine that there are panaceas for solvents of the labor problem. After a certain point is reached it constitutes a boomerang. It does not matter then if the employer cries about the ingratitude of workmen. The milk is sour, the cows are no longer contented.

The paternalistic idea is the child of autocracy. It is not a democratic institution. The best American citizenship is not developed through coddling, through consistent application of charity and through imposition of social welfare programs founded on the "contented cow" theory.

The best kind of American citizen stands on his own feet and cooperates with his fellow men to better society. He builds or buys his own house; the company house is only a stepping stone to home independence. He pays for his own doctor and his own medicine; the check-off system introduced by employers to tax him for their social welfare program is irksome—it would be better for all concerned if the workmen joined together to run their own cooperative medical service. The workmen would be better and more self-respecting citizens if they got their recreation in their own club house or on municipal playgrounds than if they played on ground donated by their employers. That which is man's own he enjoys to the limit; there is a bitter taste to anything that smacks of charity.

Cooperation does not foster submission to the will of one individual and for that reason the dominant employer may oppose it. It does bring recognition of the rights of society as a whole. It inculcates respect for the majority

rule of a democracy. It teaches a man to go after what he wants instead of waiting until somebody gives it to him as a welfare measure. It makes life sweeter for him—and for the employer too. It brings sweet milk to all humanity.

Such a cooperative principle is the foundation of trade unionism as well as the foundation of American democracy. Individual trade unions may at times have concentrated their entire interest on an effort to increase wages because decent wages are most essential to a man's status as a free and independent citizen. Yet the ideal of an upstanding citizen who holds himself above charity, above the dole and above employers' welfare schemes, has always been the ideal toward which the American workman has struggled.

Section III. Compulsory Arbitration

A. Compulsory Arbitration and Investigation of Industrial Disputes Repugnant to Freedom.

(Taken from an editorial, "Oppose Compulsion," in *Granite Cutters' Journal*, November, 1921, p. 3)

The American Federation of Labor has, on many previous occasions, expressed clearly its irrevocable opposition to compulsory arbitration, which is, in a large sense, included in the compulsory investigation of labor disputes. This great organization has from its birth steadfastly championed voluntary arbitration as a method of arriving at the settlement of all disputes or differences which can not be composed by conciliation or mediation, but it never has and does not now consent to the doctrine of compulsion.

Compulsion as a method of settling labor disputes was again condemned by the American Federation of Labor conventions, which declared:

"Compulsory investigation is as repugnant to the concept of freedom for which the federation stands, as is the dogma of compulsory arbitration."

B. Compulsory Arbitration is Incompatible with Liberty.

(Taken from "Compulsory Arbitration," by Victor A. Olander, in *Shoe Workers' Journal*, July, 1920, p. 6)

Like all trade unionists who have given any serious thought to the subject, I am opposed to the compulsory

arbitration of labor disputes. The theory of that kind of arbitration is basically wrong and should have no place in our scheme of government. Ours is a constitutional government in which all governing authority is limited by the basic law under which all our people live. The most important function of our constitution, or in fact, any constitution, is that of limiting the powers of government and governing authorities. Certain rights of the individual citizen are regarded as inherent and inalienable. This is an outstanding feature of the Declaration of Independence—the foundation of our national structure and the basis of our federal constitution—and it can not be repudiated without at the same time repudiating the whole theory of constitutional government. The declaration is repeated in many of our state constitutions. It is our recognition of the great truth that the human family can make progress under the system of government that leaves the individual a free man. The declaration is further emphasized in our bill of rights and the basic theories underlying it and is thus again declared in both our federal and the state constitutions.

The establishment of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes if accepted by the people of our nation would destroy and wipe out the thirteenth amendment. The enforcement, by law, of an arbitrary decision, against the will of the working people involved, means that such workers would be compelled by law to remain in an employment against their own will. Man's ownership of his own body would be challenged by law. Involuntary servitude would then be reestablished and the door opened to practically every form of slavery. The claim made by reactionary employers' groups that the denial by law of the right of individuals to quit work in concert does not mean a denial of the individual right to quit work is such utter nonsense that it can not for a moment be accepted by any reasoning mind. Freedom is not alone a theory, it is a living fact—freedom is real only when it can be made effective. It is ridiculous to say that individuals are free when they may not act with other individuals in matters concerning their personal relationship with them.

Mark this distinction—there is a vast difference between the human being, the life created by God, and mere

property, the title to which is created by the state. The right of men to combine for their mutual progress and advancement, as affecting their personal relations between themselves and with others is a human right that can not be destroyed. It may at times be interfered with by reactionary government, through reactionary forces, but it survives and reasserts itself always. The manipulation of property, however, is another thing, and it is a well recognized function of the state to regulate property relations.

The theory of compulsory arbitration, like the theory underlying the process of injunction as issued in labor disputes, is that labor is property and that men may have a property right in the labor of others.

Labor is not property. There is today no labor market. Labor can no longer be bought and sold. Labor is man himself, an attribute of life, it increases with health, diminishes with sickness and ceases at death. It is an inseparable part of the human being, it can not be passed from one to the other. It can not be affected except man himself is affected. It is life. Human labor can not be considered as property except upon the same basis that the labor of a horse or mule is considered property. Labor or labor power is not transferable. The knowledge of how to perform labor—to exercise labor efficiently may be passed from one to another. A man may exercise his labor power in the interest of another but he can not give or sell it to any other person without at the same time surrendering his own body. Thus, where men are free, labor can not be called property.

C. Compulsory Arbitration Wholly Unnecessary.

(Taken from an editorial, "Compulsory Arbitration Endangers Liberty," in *The Carpenter*, July, 1921, p. 25)

Voluntary arbitration of industrial disputes is founded upon the rights of the parties to the questions at issue to have the decisive voice in reaching an agreement. Mutual consent in all the details of arranging the terms of settlement is essential to a harmonious conclusion.

Differences which can not be adjusted by the parties themselves are referred, by nomination of all contenders, to a person who has no direct interest in the matter. The

understanding, actual or implied, of both parties in issues is that the decision rendered by the nominee of both shall be accepted as final and made as effective as though it were the mutual decision.

This form of arbitration is founded upon the acceptance of both parties to an issue of the principle that gives each the full right of full control over the issues each is contending for. It is a logical relationship, founded upon reason, insuring the peaceful conduct of industry, and establishing a proper relationship between workers and their employers.

Compulsory arbitration of labor disputes destroys the principles of bargaining, for both employers and workers, which the voluntary system accepts and, in a measure, guarantees. By the compulsory method, neither employers nor workers have any right in the selection of the arbitrator. His interest in the question in dispute is a mere matter of chance. His opinions as to the rights of the contenders may or may not be prejudicial to either. In any event, he is a fixed quantity, and to his judgment must be left the conditions of labor for the period determined upon.

Aside from endangering the liberty of all the people, the results achieved by voluntary arbitration of industrial questions prove the compulsory method is wholly unnecessary. Statistics of the division of conciliation of the United States Department of Labor establish this fact. In 1920, there were nearly 700,000 workers involved in cases that were voluntarily adjusted.

These statistics embrace only those disputes in which the Department actually took part. There were thousands of others in which the negotiations were carried on by workers and employers through trade agreements.

D. Compulsory Investigation Naturally Loaded Against Workers.

(Taken from "Compulsory Arbitration—Involuntary Servitude," in *United Mine Workers' Journal*, September 7, 1916, p. 4)

Growing out of the dispute between the managers of the railroads and the employes in the train service; owing to the fact that the trainmen have refused to submit their

demands to a board that they have reason to fear, from experience in the past, will be primed against them, many of the newspapers of the country are reviving the demand for a law based upon the Canadian Trades Disputes Act, which provides that before demands can be enforced or encroachments resisted, a board appointed by the government should have time to investigate and pass upon the merits of the disputed points before the workers would be allowed to strike for what they considered belonged to them. It is true that under such legislation that the employers are penalized if they close down the plant to enforce their demands, but it will be readily seen that excuses can be offered for closing down a plant.

Our experience with the Canadian law has been that it is generally effective in curbing the workers from exercising their economic power through organized resistance, while it is utterly helpless to curb the employers when they seek to oppress, even by denying the fundamental rights of the workers.

A case in point—the Vancouver Island strike; in spite of the fact that the board appointed under the Trades Disputes Act fully justified the position of the miners, the managers refused to abide by the decision and were furnished every legal and extra-legal aid to break the resistance of the workers.

In cases where the decision of such an arbitrarily constituted board went against the workers, and they refused to abide by such decision, even the commonest safeguards, the right to free speech, free assembly, have been arbitrarily denied them, and the decision of the board held as a judgment in law, and eventually forced upon the workers.

Above all, we hold that compulsory arbitration includes involuntary servitude, and any effort on the part of State or nation to enact a law which in effect would deny us our right to withhold our labor power, as individuals or collectively, must be regarded as a reversion to the time when a workingman was considered as the property of the owners of the land and of the industries, and must be resisted by the workers to the last ditch.

A law that might specify only those who are engaged in interstate transportation could easily be amended to include those engaged in other industries, once the principle

was established. To safeguard the liberties we have won through centuries of unceasing struggle, it behooves us to jealously guard against any attempt to enact a law for compulsory arbitration, for in the end, such law would include involuntary servitude.

PART VI. CONDITIONS OF WORK

CHAPTER XXI

THE SHORTER WORKDAY

A. Reduction of Hours of Labor is Paramount Issue.

(Taken from *Metal Trades Department Proceedings*, 1910, p. 49)

We believe the movement for a shorter workday to be one of the most important and beneficent measures of the labor movement, as rest and recreation are absolutely essential to the moral and social advancement of the human race. Physical exhaustion is not conducive to healthy ideas, or the desire for self-improvement, and it is difficult to inspire the victims of long hours with the proper zeal for their own interest. We regard the reduction of the hours of labor, as paramount to our other considerations, even to an increase in wages. We beg to indorse the prevailing sentiment that action on this matter must be based upon effective education and preparation, education that will imbue in the minds and hearts of the workers a conception of the importance of this great boon and inspire them with the zeal that will make possible its early attainment.

Hence, we repeat, that the agitation to gradually reduce the hours of labor should be effectively maintained, and that organizations prepare for action by the accumulation of sufficient funds in order that they can sustain the contests in the event that the effort is resisted by the employers.

B. Shorter Workday is Fundamental Step in Betterment of Conditions of Workers.

(Taken from a report of the A. F. of L. Executive Council on "The Shorter Workday" in *American Federationist*, March, 1916, p. 182)

It is an accepted principle that the shorter workday is a fundamental step in the betterment of the workers. The

shorter workday affects the length of life, the health, the standards of life, and, in fact, every phase of the lives of the workers. The wage-earner whose hours of labor are decreased goes to work and comes from work at a different time than before, and consequently comes in contact with people whose habits of living are different. From contact with these people of greater leisure, he establishes new ideals. He has a greater number of hours in which to rest, revive his energies and devote to recreation or the development of his mind. Thus the shorter workday makes of the worker a different person, a person of greater physical endurance, greater vitality, higher ideals, and consequently a person who will not be satisfied with the old standards of the long hours of work.

The improved methods of production which always follow a reduction in the hours of labor increase the productive power of the worker and consequently he is in a position to demand and receive higher wages. Invariably every decrease in the hours of work per day is accompanied or followed by an increase in wages. The shorter workday movement is to secure to the workers greater material advantages. It is an important movement in conserving national vigor and health and in guarding against those tendencies that undermine true national power.

Because of the far-reaching importance and effect of the shorter workday upon the material, physical and mental conditions of the working people, we can not too strongly impress upon all wage-earners the necessity to concentrate their chief effort to secure the shorter workday—the general application of at least the eight-hour day.

C. Economic and Social Necessity of Shorter Workday.

(Taken from Report of Shorter Workday Committee, A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1922, pp. 482-4)

The daily improvements in machinery, in methods of production and distribution, the extension and application of the forces of steam and electricity, the improvement in the tools of labor and the intense desire of the employing class to utilize machinery to the fullest possible extent, that is, the longest number of hours per day, must of

necessity, unless met by another counteracting influence, tend to supplant labor and throw numbers of fellow workers out of employment. This counteracting influence is logically and of necessity the organized effort of our fellow workers in trade unions. That movement being the reduction of hours of labor so that the evil of long hours of labor on one hand and a lack of employment on the other may both be remedied at one and the same time. We realize the hardships and poverty of the wage class, but we believe that there is no safer or more practical plan to deal with the great question of the unemployed than in such a distribution of labor as shall work to the advantage of those at work and out of work.

D. Reduction in Hours Does Not Curtail Production.

(Taken from President Gompers' Report, *Proceedings*, 1902, p. 18)

The philosophy as well as the stern necessity for a reduction in the hours of labor is underestimated and too little understood. There are some who believe, or pretend to believe, that a reduction in the hours of labor carries with it a curtailment of production. As a matter of fact every reduction in the hours of labor that has occurred in industry has been followed by a vast increase in production. New machinery, new tools of labor, have invariably followed, while at the same time increased leisure and opportunity for the workers have made them larger consumers and users of productive labor, giving to industry and commerce an impetus obtainable by no other means. . . . No country is so potent in satisfying the wants of its own people, nor so successful in securing foreign markets as those countries in which the hours of labor or working people are lowest.

E. Tactical Procedure.

1. CONCERTED ACTION INADVISABLE

(Taken from Report of Committee on Eight Hour Day, A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1907, pp. 286-7)

We urge persistent agitation and effort to shorten the hours of labor in each trade, by such process as may be

most practicable in their respective interests. We are not in favor of universal aggressive action for the establishment of the 8-hour day, at this time, because there are trades and callings now working 10 hours a day, and in some instances longer. Hence, we repeat that the agitation to gradually reduce the hours of labor should be effectively maintained, and that organizations prepare for action by the accumulation of sufficient funds in order that they can sustain contests in the event that the effort is resisted by employers. With the growing power of organized labor, we find the antagonism of its enemies becoming more pronounced and centered, and that they are arraying themselves against us with all the weapons that unscrupulous wealth and its influences can command. Labor's success has been achieved at great sacrifice to the workers and its struggles have taught that to depend solely on the right and justice of our contentions may mean victory long deferred, so let us prepare by further agitation and education, the accumulation of sufficient funds and what is of equal importance, the selection of such suitable time and opportunity as will favor the most immediate success, with the least degree of suffering and privation.

2. THE SIX HOUR DAY INOPPORTUNE

(Taken from Report of Committee on Shorter Workday, adopted by A. F. of L. Convention, *Proceedings*, 1921, p. 420)

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Denver express its approval for a shorter workday; for a 6-hour day with an 8-hour pay for the workers, or 8-hours pay for a 6-hour day for the workers, so as to secure employment for some of the mass unemployment in our country.

On this resolution your committee agrees with the idea that its author has in mind. However, for the American Federation of Labor at this time to declare for a 6-hour day at 8-hours' pay would be making more chaotic an already-mixed-up industrial situation. Therefore, your committee recommends that this resolution be acted upon unfavorably.

F. The Shorter Work Week.

1. THE SIX AND FIVE DAY WEEK

(Taken from Report of Committee on Shorter Workday, adopted by A. F. of L. Convention, *Proceedings*, 1912, pp. 284-5)

Whereas, A number of corporations and employers, in their pursuit of wealth and to satisfy their financial greed, are pursuing a course of compelling their employees to work every day in the week; and

Whereas, Such conditions deprive the workers of liberty and pleasure and pursuit of happiness, and likewise result in undermining the health and mental condition of men and women; and

Whereas, Sunday is the recognized rest day, through the enactment of the law and otherwise, we realize that the conditions of industry or service in some instances require the continuance of work for seven days, and the consequent employment of some part of the employees on that day; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor declares the 6-day week as the maximum number of continuous working days that anyone shall be employed, and that we heartily commend the 5-day-work week to the thoughtful and favorable consideration of all organizations affiliated with this federation, to the end that the shortening of the work-week will be conducive to enhancing the physical, material, intellectual and moral welfare of the toilers; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council be, and is hereby, authorized to do all in its power to aid and promote the principles herein enunciated.

2. THE FORTY-FOUR HOUR WEEK

(Taken from "The Forty-four Hour Week," in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, May, 1919, p. 453)

The time has now come to consider the forty-four hour week, divided into eight hours for five days, and four hours on Saturday.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the reasonableness of the eight-hour day. It is apparent to all fair-minded persons. We are not abandoning the fight for the eight-hour

day, to take up some new demand. We are still contending for eight hours, but for *five days a week only*, leaving four hours to be worked Saturday; this provides for a Saturday half-holiday.

The Saturday half-holiday is not a new idea; it has been the custom for years for the Government, during the summer months, to close all departments at noon on Saturday. State and municipal institutions do likewise, and of late years it is becoming the general custom, both in the United States and Canada, for everyone, where it was possible, to cease work at noon on Saturday. No one who has been accustomed to the Saturday half-holiday would willingly work the full day. It will be a reasonable and just demand. It gives a person a half day to indulge in recreation, or to attend to matters which otherwise it would be difficult to find time to do, and will make for better manhood, better womanhood and better citizenship. It will promote health and prosperity; it will materially help to solve the unemployment problem; it will mean increased efficiency and consequently increased production. It is an ideal arrangement of the week, and should, and no doubt will, appeal to thousands of employers who also long for the half-holiday.

CHAPTER XXII

HIGHER WAGES

A. Higher Wages Mean a Higher Standard of Life.

(Taken from President Gompers' Report, *Proceedings*, 1912, p. 13)

The demand for higher wages represents our conviction that a constantly greater share of increased social wealth should go to those who create it. The progress of humanity results from the elimination of poverty. Poverty means degrading environment and influences that result in intellectual and moral degeneration. Permanent amelioration of the human lot must have as its basis material resources. The next step is to distribute these products so that the greatest number may fairly benefit thereby. As an element in the forces determining distribution, the trade union has been most potent. A comparison of conditions prevailing among unorganized with those that have employed collective bargaining, reveals unmistakable proofs of the beneficent results due to trade unionism. Higher wages mean better homes, better clothing, better food, better bodies and minds, recreation, a higher standard of life.

B. Labor Seeking Light on Wage Determination.

(Taken from "Labor Seeking Light on Wages," by Matthew Woll, reprinted from *Forbes Magazine in International Molders' Journal*, March, 1922, pp. 114-5)

Despite the fundamental importance of wages, there is a degree of uncertainty about the principles that properly underlie their determination that would be startling if it were not part and parcel of the lack of data in all phases of production. Not 5 per cent of production establishments have cost accounting systems that enable the management

to know and control work. With management working in such an unscientific way, its responsibility for unscientific methods of wage determination is evident.

Management generally concerns itself with maintaining wages at the lowest possible rates that can be enforced. The same rule-of-thumb methods usually prevail that characterize managerial methods where production charts and cost accounts do not provide exact information. Whatever is left after haphazard administration and allocation of dividends, overhead, depreciation, etc., constitutes the wage fund, to be apportioned according to expediency. Force is the only argument which gains their attention.

Why haven't the wage-earners insisted upon scientific determination of wages? Is it reasonable to expect the man who handles the lathe to have a better comprehension of the technique and philosophy of production than the experts specially trained to direct the whole? Yet wage-earners have shown an understanding partly intuitive, wholly practical, that shows they at least keep step with progress in production. This, to my mind, is the significance of the inquiry directed by the Denver labor convention.

Years ago, before the days of machine production, the workman was a slave. His owner supplied him with necessities for subsistence and retained all additional profits. When slavery ended work was paid for in wages. The workman so lately a slave had very unequal opportunity to bargain with his employer. The employer had things pretty much his own way. Wages bought a pretty poor sort of subsistence—for what did a common laborer know of longing for knowledge, or beauty, or travel, or higher opportunity? Bill or Jack or Tom had to accept whatever the employer thought "square." But when Bill and Jack and Tom went together to see the boss, he gave more thought as to what constituted squareness.

The boss evolved various theories to justify his wage decree. There was an iron law of wages with a fixed wage fund as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and the Persians. Then there was a theory of supply and demand. The United States Steel Corporation championed this formula and became active in inspiring European low wage-earners to come to American steel communities. Meanwhile the Steel Corporation organized the material product

and thereby manipulated prices. The more highly it organized the more emphatically it refused to deal with its employes in organized capacity. Soon it became pretty obvious that the law of supply and demand did not function in steel.

Economists then offered a dispassionate theory of wages on the basis of marginal utility or marginal productivity; but out in the shop and the factory the law of force was maintained as before. Economic theories of wages have been so uniformly detached that they have rendered no service in wage negotiations.

During the war, when the value of money fluctuated so rapidly, the mounting costs of living focused thought upon commodity values, until it appeared that costs of living had considerable to do with wage rates. A group of economists helped to crystallize a cost-of-living theory of wages, which, for a time, attracted wage-earners. After a time they began to see that cost-of-living studies are not to determine wages, but to disclose the fluctuating value of money or real wages. For this legitimate use cost-of-living studies have a real service. A most significant statement recently made by Paul Douglas and Frances Lamberson concludes:

"All the evidence seems to indicate that at the termination of the great war the return in commodities which the American workman received for an equal length of time worked (one hour) was from 10 to 20 per cent less than it was in the decade 1890-1899, and from 7 to 17 per cent less than it was before the sharp upward movement of prices in 1916. The purchasing power of the established week's work, moreover, was from 20 to 30 per cent less than in the nineties and from 10 to 20 per cent less than in 1915. American labor as a whole therefore can not legitimately be charged with having profiteered during the war. Rather, like Alice in Wonderland, it was compelled to run faster in order to stay in the same place."

There have been developed modifications of straight wage payment, based upon some concept of measuring the productivity of the worker—productivity from a quantity standard. Such modifications are the sliding scale, the bonus, task and bonus, premium plans, etc. But no one statement has attempted to set forth a unified conception of the workers' relation in the organization of production

as the basis of formulating the principles of wage compensation.

Just what elements enter into this problem? Each person ought to contribute to the productive enterprise according to his capacity and will to cooperate. How are these factors to be determined? How is relative compensation to be allocated and determined?

Those workers who transform daily labor into creative work pour into their work an expression of intellectual and spiritual forces. What compensation ought to be accorded these greatest contributions to production? How shall we equitably establish relative ratings?

Many a proposal for increased compensation is met by the management with the statement that the proposal could be granted only if prices were increased, or, in other words, increased wages are to come out of the pockets of the consuming public. Should there not be available data to convince the public of the morality of such policy? Justification could come only from analysis of production costs, labor costs, managerial economy and intelligent efforts to eliminate waste and to establish most efficient methods. Recently the American Engineering Council made public a report on "Waste of Industry" that discloses many ways in which management could make creative effort more effective. Is not the key to more effective results from production an emphasis upon quality? If management and workers appreciate the fundamental importance of quality, will the urge to exploit naturally diminish?

So we find the iniquity leads us out into all the ramifications of production and productive organization; and any attempt to formulate a wage theory that grows out of the facts of productive association must be based upon searching analysis. Labor is approaching this problem with an open mind in order to contribute a service in bringing about a better understanding of industrial relations—to focus attention not upon the controversial but upon those principles which make possible cooperation for productive association.

Labor has gone on record in favor of industrial research and this inquiry is an earnest demonstration of the integrity of that declaration. The inquiry is of tremendous

social importance, because of consequences of wage determination upon the lives of wage earners and those dependent upon them. It is of economic importance because wage determination involves factors that reflect industrial government. It is of human importance because wages express a valuation of human creative effort.

C. The Workers Demand a Wage Which Will Maintain American Standard of Living.

(Taken from "Why the Living Wage," in *American Federalist*, February, 1919, pp. 151-3)

Distracted neither by the dream of the poet nor the subtle speculative logic of the economic or political philosopher, nor deterred by the cunning schemes of the possessors of wealth, the wage-earners, accustomed to dealing in a practical way with whatever task presents itself for solution, have long come to realize that fine-spun theories of philosophy and high-sounding phrases will not promote equal justice among men, or bring them that economic independence which is essential to a full and free exercise of their rights. They have come to realize, as governments know, that organization, harmony of purpose and unity of action are essential to success of any human undertaking. Bitter experience has taught them that if the wage-earners are to be permitted to exercise their rights as free men, if equal justice is to obtain, the workers must organize, affiliate and federate.

Whether the workers were afforded the opportunity and availed themselves of favorable circumstances in obtaining better wages by reason of the exigencies of the war is beside the question. The overshadowing issue of today is, now that the war has ended and the economic balance threatens temporarily to weigh against them, shall the workers be deprived of the fuller opportunities of life and freedom they have gained?

The great object of the workers today in resisting a wage reduction is not to prove or disprove any particular philosophy of economics. The workers are not interested in which particular economic theory shall be given preference. They have no faith in the theory advanced by Adam Smith that wages, like everything else, are governed by the law of supply and demand. There is at hand too much

conclusive evidence that the law of supply and demand is not immutable and that it readily lends itself to manipulation and control. The wage-earners are no longer bewildered by the subtle logic of the wage-fund theory advanced by David Ricardo, James Mill or John Stuart Mill. No one in this enlightened age would attempt to advance this theory as a fitting answer to the wage-earners' yearning and craving for a better and happier life. Neither does Labor accept the conclusion advanced by La Salle in the so-called "iron law of wages," or solace and satisfaction in the idealistically expounded theory of the cooperative commonwealth. The present movement of the wage-earners is more than a resistance to the artful demand to bring down the prices of commodities. It is an onward march to carry the rights of the workers to a new and greater height.

The demand of the workers is for a wage which will maintain the American standard of living. This demand for a living wage is in fact a rebellion against the maladministration of life and labor by others. It is an insurrection against the decree of business that wages shall follow prices, when prices know no law but competition between traders. The workers are tired of having themselves, their wives and children used as chips for our commercial, financial and industrial gamblers. Having accepted the principle of a living wage, the next step is to maintain this living wage where it is established and to secure it for all workers where it does not now obtain.

We note here and there the echo of the fine spun theories of Ricardo, Mill and their disciples, cunningly reflected in the expressions of those who claim that prices are determined solely by the cost of production, and that to secure a lower price we must first force down the wages of the workers. Of course, little or no thought is given by these advocates to the fact that the cost of subsistence determines the standard of life for the wage-earners.

After all, the question may be well asked: What does it cost to produce an American, a man fitted to be your fellow citizen and to help administer the institutions of liberty left us by our forefathers? What is the price we pay for children free from factory life, for mothers burdened by no duties outside of home, for fathers who have

leisure for home and families? All these elements of human well-being should be taken into consideration of the estimate upon which to base the cost of producing an American.

The best American authority tells us that men are born equal with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Alienate one right, be it the humblest and smallest right of life, liberty or of happiness, and the wage received is less than the living wage. The living wage is the right to be a man and to exercise freely and fully the rights of a free man. That is the living wage, and to realize it is the sure and true destiny of organized labor.

D. Wages and Hours Must Progress with Increasing Power of Production.

(Taken from Report of Committee on Resolutions, *A. F. of L. Proceedings, 1925, p. 271*)

We hold that the best interests of wage earners as well as the whole social group are served in increasing production in quality as well as quantity and by high wage standards which assure sustained purchasing power to the workers and, therefore, higher national standards for the environment in which they live and the means to enjoy cultured opportunities. We declare that wage reductions produce industrial and social unrest and that low wages are not conducive to low production costs.

We urge upon wage earners everywhere: that we oppose all wage reductions and that we urge upon management the elimination of wastes in production in order that selling prices may be lower and wages higher. To this end we recommend cooperation in study of waste in production which the essay of the Federated American Engineering Societies covering important industries has shown to be 50% attributable to management and only 25% attributable to labor, with 25% attributable to other sources, principally managements in industries producing commodities for any single industry under consideration.

Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day, are

progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production.

E. Cost of Living Inadequate Wage Measurement.

(Taken from Executive Council Report, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1921, pp. 68-69)

The American trade union movement believes that the lives of the working people should be made better with each passing day and year. The practice of fixing wages solely on a basis of the cost of living is a violation of the whole philosophy in progress and civilization and, furthermore, is a violation of sound economic theory and is utterly without logic or scientific support of any kind. What we find as a result of practice, so far as it has gone, is that there is a constant tendency under it to classify human beings and to standardize classes, each class having a presumptive right to a given quantity of various commodities. It is not difficult to understand that the ultimate development of such a policy must be ridiculous and fantastic; in fact, it already has become so in many cases.

To measure the life possibilities of a highly civilized people in terms of yearly allowance, or so many pounds and yards of commodities, is a conception which the American labor movement can not tolerate and which it must remove from the realm of practice. We realize fully that to substitute the present unscientific, unsound and unjust practice with one which shall meet all tests, requires deep study and much consultation. There must be laid down a principle that will endure. We must face the facts as they are and carefully develop a scientific procedure in so far as that is humanly possible.

Ultimately, we feel, there must be found some method of relating standards of living to social usefulness, or production service, though under present industrial management this has not yet been found possible on any just basis.

Unquestionably the welfare of any people as a whole is directly related to the productivity of that people. The difficulty is encountered when it is attempted to apportion returns on the basis of individual productivity.

However, progress that has been made in some cases in the development of the science of industrial management

shows it is possible to look forward along this line with some hope of results that will afford justice to the workers and to society at the same time.

F. Wage Reductions Only Unsettle Business and Industry.

(Taken from "Fallacy of Wage Reduction," in *Shoe Workers' Journal*, May, 1924, pp. 11-12)

In times of business depression there are always those who offer the quack remedy of wage reduction, as an alleged means of stimulating business, though its sponsors never are able to offer any sound economic reasons in support of the policy they advocate.

In such times the existing condition is that a lack of purchasing power, by the public generally, slows down production and places many productive workers on short time, making it difficult for them to meet expenses for the bare sustenance of life.

The theory that business is to be stimulated by reducing the wages of these workers who are on short time employment is most absurd. The only possible result is to further reduce the purchasing power of the wage-earners. Since the wage-earners compose a very large part of the whole public, consumption is thus further reduced and the market for goods made smaller.

Wage cutting, price and profit cutting, are birds of a feather. When the first sets in, the other two follow as a matter of course. These three policies, working in perfect coordination, lead not to prosperity, but to the bankruptcy courts.

If one employer succeeds in putting a material wage reduction into effect, and gets some business away from someone else, then the latter goes after the same thing and eventually there is a race to see how much purchasing power can be destroyed. Nothing is settled. There is no stability. Such a policy leads only to unsettlement.

Wage reductions lead surely to the issue of restoration. Make no mistake about this. If anything is taken from the workers they intend to get it back plus the normal increase that is justified by annual human progress and betterment. Some real economists have figured the annual human betterment at three per cent. This means that wages should advance an average of three per cent per year

over a long term of years in order to maintain the relative purchasing power of wage earners as a part of the whole public.

It may as well be realized now as later that we are approaching new conditions of industry. Restriction of immigration has at last become popular so that politicians have noticed it and have swung in line.

Under normal condition of business the demand for workers will be greater than ever before and particular industries will receive adequate supplies of workers in proportion as their working conditions and earnings are attractive to the workers.

The time is not far distant when industries will be bidding against each other for workers. Then those that have gone farthest in wage reduction will have the longest and the hardest road to travel back to wage normalcy and sufficiency.

Wage-earners are the army of production. Their enlistment is only voluntary and they can leave any industry at any time. To work in any industry is not compulsory on them. They will go where they fare best.

Any policy that tends to drive workers away from any industry is suicidal to that industry. To hear shoe workers say that they will not allow their children to become shoe workers if they can help it is not a healthy sign for the future. Employers ought to know better than to seek to demean the producing workers so that they are ashamed of their own vocation and will attempt to steer the rising generation away from it. There will always be wage inequities to adjust both ways, that is admitted. But any policy of wage reduction is wholly indefensible from any broad standpoint of economics or statesmanship.

G. Method of Wage Payment.

1. EVILS OF PIECE-WORK

(Taken from the proceedings of the United Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers Union of North America, in *The Headgear Worker*, June 1919, pp. 103-4)

a. *Piece-work is prejudicial to the highest degree of solidarity among the workers*—The earnings of piece workers vary too much, depending not merely upon the greater

or lesser skill, but much more upon accidental conditions, favoritism of foremen, ability of speeding up, and so on. The piece workers, therefore, are quite frequently inclined to overestimate the value of individual effort as against collective effort. Under a system of week work the worker whose demands on life are highest, in order to improve his condition must ask for the improvement of the condition of the entire group or class of the same workers. That is not necessarily a case under the system of piece-work, where single individuals can raise their condition considerably above the general level and therefore do not feel as strongly as the week workers the immediate necessity of devoting all their efforts to the collective struggle for the general improvement of the conditions of the workers. The highest degree of solidarity is therefore best promoted by a system of week work only.

b. Piece-work tends to interfere with the concentration of the efforts of the organization on the really important issues—Under a system of piece work the price settlements, with all the squabbles and disputes connected with them, tend to take all the attention of the workers and the organization, gaining an importance which they really have not. Because these little disputes consume the best energies of the most active workers of the trade, the really important issues are removed to the background and frequently lost sight of. In the little daily struggles in connection with the price settlements, the energies and militancy of the workers of the trade are gradually spent, so that the organization meets with greater difficulties when there is a necessity to concentrate upon the battle generally. Under a system of piece work the organized workers are mostly compelled to spend their efforts in an incessant guerilla warfare during the existence of the collective agreement instead of concentrating upon a real offensive at the conclusion or renewal of agreements. Under the present social conditions, guerilla warfare in industry injures mainly the workers themselves, while the weakening of the organization for the general offensive is an irreparable loss to the workers. Under a system of week work the guerilla warfare during the existence of the agreement is reduced to the minimum and workers can concentrate all their energies and efforts for the preparation for the general offensive at

the conclusion or renewal of the agreement, thus assuring substantial gains which, under week work, are safeguarded with a minimum of guerilla warfare.

c. Piece-work is prejudicial to the health of the worker
—Perhaps the greatest danger of piece-work to the worker is the undermining influence which it has upon the health of the workers. There is hardly anything more prejudicial to the health than the periodic succession of exhausting work by total idleness. Piece workers especially in seasonal trades, are incessantly passing from a state of inhuman exertion to a state of almost total inactivity. While this irregularity in the physical effort demanded by the industry from the workers, under present capitalistic conditions, is more or less of a general nature, it is not so prevalent and not so dangerous under week work as it is under piece-work.

2. ABOLITION OF PIECE-WORK DOES NOT REDUCE PRODUCTION
(Taken from Report of Executive Council on
"Piece-Work," Railroad Employes Department,
Proceedings, 1922, p. 169)

The question of piece-work was considered by the Department to be of so great importance that the whole problem was worked up independently of the general National Agreement case and the (Railroad Labor) Board was asked to grant a separate hearing. Throughout the spring and early summer numerous representatives from local shops on piece-work roads were working together under the direction of the Research Bureau, preparing a study of the problem of piece-work which should give, once for all, the answer of the shop crafts to the unfair presentation of the question made by management.

It was the splendid work done by these local shopmen which made possible the very unusual exhibit which the Department presented to the Board in August, at the special hearing set for the purpose. This exhibit proved by the railroads' own figures that they had failed to show any real drop in production due to the abolition of piece-work. It showed further that the same amount of repair work could be done more cheaply on railroads working on the time-payment basis. It showed, by analysis of the actual piece-work price lists of important railroads, how the

system worked to demoralize the men who are forced to work under it.

H. Industry Owes Workers an Annual Minimum Wage.

(Taken from "The Problem of Week Work," in *Justice*, March 5th, 1921, p. 5)

The Cleveland cloakmakers are still employed under the piece-work system, but according to the provision of the new agreement week work is to be introduced in the Cleveland cloak shops within the next eight months.

It is therefore of utmost importance to examine the question of week work which is so closely bound up with several other questions.

First, how should the wages above the minimum scale be determined?

This question has been easily solved in New York, Chicago and other cities where week work has been introduced. The wages of each worker had been calculated on the basis of his piece-work earnings. Is this a fair procedure? I think not. Piece-work in itself is a poor method by which to determine wages, for in the case where workers have a "show," that is, when they are fortunate enough to get good "bundles," they make good wages, while workers equally skilled and able but who have poorer luck, that is, get bad "bundles," earn considerably less. Is this just or fair?

Second, if a worker leaves his job and finds employment elsewhere, how should his wages be determined? Should it be the same wage as he received from his former employer? But this will depend, I suppose, upon the general conditions of the trade, upon the scarcity of labor, etc. The worker may expect to get the same or even a higher wage if the employer is in urgent need of him. If the trade, however, is not very brisk, and the employer can afford to wait, the worker will be offered the minimum wages. What are we going to do about it?

Some perhaps will say: Very well, in such a case all will have to work for the minimum; that is, there will develop a "straight wage," just, for example, as in the carpenter's trade. All workers receive a dollar or a dollar and a half an hour. There are no better or worse carpenters. Many will perhaps say this is true trade unionism.

I feel, however, that no matter how true it might be to the principles of trade unionism, it is nevertheless unjust, and I am unalterably opposed to it.

It is true that all men are born equal, but it is also true that each one has different inclinations and aptitudes. Why then should the employer profiteer more from the abler and better worker? Why should one work for 50 dollars a week when he can ordinarily make 70 dollars?

The situation would, of course, be different in a society controlled and managed by workers. But there is no reason in the world why one should not receive, under the present capitalistic order, as much as his abilities permit. When a uniform wage will be established the employers will doubtless manage to select the ablest workers, and the slow workers will be eliminated. But when the better workers receive higher wages they not only protect their own families but help to protect the slow workers, because the employer is compelled to pay according to the ability of the workers.

I do not believe then in a "straight wage." I believe in a minimum wage for a slow worker, and a higher wage for the better worker.

How should the wages be determined? The following methods are employed. There are workers, say, who are earning 60, 70 and 80 dollars a week. It may be that the 70 dollar worker is worth 80. But under the circumstances the best has been done for him. There is, however, a striking difference between one shop and another. Where the price committee is strong and the employer wavering, the wages will be higher; where the situation is reversed, the wages will be lower. Should we depend on this manner of adjusting wages?

We glibly talk of a "fair day's wage for a fair day's work." What does it mean? What is a "fair day's work"? I confess that I cannot answer this question. But I know how this works out in practice. If you work for a decent employer, the working conditions may be more or less satisfactory. But if the employer is autocratic and domineering, as is usually the case, the worker will always be accused of loafing on the job. An uncertain situation arises. Five garments a day may mean a good day's work in one shop but a poor day's work in another shop. Neither is this

system practicable. This brings us to the most important problem which must sooner or later be answered.

A minimum weekly wage has already been established in many cities. I once shared the opinion of many of our leaders that this achievement is the final goal of union activity. This was taught us by the old trade unionists, and it has been followed as the Holy Writ. But I have been doing some thinking lately, and I came to the conclusion that the minimum weekly wage in itself means very little. Take an extreme case. Suppose one gets 500 dollars a week, but works only one week in the year. He would, of course, starve the largest part of the year. If the workers of this industry are to make a decent living, not only during the working weeks, but throughout the year, they must know in the beginning of the year that their livelihood will be assured throughout that year.

I am of the opinion that in addition to the weekly minimum wage the workers must secure an annual minimum wage scale. The workers must be in a position to demand of the employer an annual minimum wage just as they are demanding a weekly minimum.

Many of our old-time trade unionists are clamoring for a wage increase because of the rise in the cost of living. But this is not all. The workers demand and will continue to demand a wage increase not only because of the rise in the cost of living, but because the workers have realized that they are entitled to a better life. They want higher wages because they want to enjoy the good things of life. They want to give a better education to their children than they had received. And for this reason the workers must secure an annual minimum wage. To supply work for the entire season is the business of the manufacturer. Under the present system it is the workers who carry the burden of uncertainty. The manufacturer makes sufficient profits during the short months of the year to last him for the year. The workers are making a hand-to-mouth living with the evils of unemployment staring them in the face.

We speak of extending the season. We cannot do it while the manufacturer is indifferent. Take the case of the high cost of clothing. The manufacturers claim that it is due entirely to the high wages of the workers. But every dollar that the worker receives is immediately added to the

cost of the garment instead of subtracting it from the huge profits of the employer. Every invested dollar, the manufacturer holds, must bring so much profits, overhead expenses, etc. When a manufacturer runs a factory six or seven months he can very comfortably tide through the year. It is clear that the average manufacturer cares very little for a long season. The garments, of course, become expensive. Fewer people buy clothes. But the manufacturer makes his profit from one garment instead of 12. It is the workers who suffer the consequences.

But when the manufacturer will be compelled to guarantee his workers an annual minimum wage, he will then supply sufficient work for the entire year. The manufacturer will then make an annual profit in 12 months instead of in 6. The cost of garments will be considerably lowered. A larger number of people will buy clothes. It would be even far from damaging if the swollen profits of the manufacturers would be reduced. Is 5 or 6 per cent profits on invested capital not enough?

I. Equal Pay for Equal Work.

(Taken from Resolution No. 115, adopted by A. F. of L. Convention, *Proceedings*, 1916, p. 392)

Whereas, Conditions in all warring countries have resulted in filling trades hitherto supplied by men workers only with enormous numbers of underpaid women, unorganized and voteless; and,

Whereas, We foresee, at the close of the war, when men return asking back their jobs, grave danger that these exploited women will be used to lower the wages of men as well, permanently and everywhere, thus causing the hard-won results of previous years of organization to be lost to the workers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we endorse the movement to obtain from all governments at the time of the signature of the treaty of peace the establishment of international agreements to take effect within a definite time and embodying the following principle: The wage paid for definite work must be absolutely independent of the sex of the individual performing it.

Your committee has amended the foregoing resolution by striking out "The wage paid for definite work must be

absolutely independent of the sex of the individual performing it" and substitutes "Equal pay for equal work performed regardless of sex."

With this amendment your committee concurs in and recommends the adoption of the resolution.

CHAPTER XXIII

EFFICIENT AND INCREASED PRODUCTION

A. Modern Production Methods Are Gradually Eliminating the Skilled Craftsman.

(Taken from "Modern Industry and Craft Skill," by John P. Frey in *American Federationist*, May, 1916, pp. 365-6)

The one great asset of the wage-worker has been his craftsmanship. We think of craftsmanship ordinarily as the ability to manipulate skillfully the tools and materials of craft or trade. But true craftsmanship is much more than this. The really essential element in it is not manual skill and dexterity but something stored up in the mind of the worker. This something is partly the intimate knowledge of the character and uses of the tools, materials and processes of the craft which tradition and experience have given the worker. But beyond this and above this, it is the knowledge which enables him to understand and overcome the constantly arising difficulties that grow out of variations, not only in the tools and materials but in the conditions under which the work must be done.

In the past, for the most part, the skillful manipulation of the tools and materials of a craft and this craftsmanship of the brain have been bound up together in the person of the worker and have been his possession. And it is this unique possession of craft knowledge and craft skill on the part of a body of wage-workers—that is, their possession of these things and the employer's ignorance of them—that has enabled the workers to organize and force better terms from the employers. On this unique possession has depended, more than on any other one factor, the strength of trade unionism and the ability of unions to improve the conditions of their members.

This being true, it is evident that the greatest blow

that could be delivered against unionism and the organized workers would be the separation of craft knowledge from craft skill. For if the skilled use of tools could be secured from workmen apart from the craft knowledge which only years of experience can build up, the production of "skilled workmen" from unskilled hands would be a matter in almost any craft of but a few days or weeks; any craft would be thrown open to the competition of an almost unlimited labor supply; the craftsmen in it would be practically at the mercy of the employer.

Of late, this separation of craft knowledge and craft skill has actually taken place in an ever widening area and with an ever increasing acceleration. Its process is shown in the two main forms which it has been taking. The first of these is the introduction of machinery and the standardization of tools, materials, products and processes, which makes production possible on a large scale and the specialization of the workmen. Each workman under such circumstances needs and can exercise only a little craft knowledge and a little craft skill. But he is still a craftsman, though only a narrow one and subject to much competition from below. The second form, more insidious and more dangerous than the first, but to the significance of which most of us have not yet become aroused, is the gathering up of all this scattered craft knowledge, systematizing it and concentrating it in the hands of the employer and then doling it out again only in the form of minute instructions, giving to each worker only the knowledge needed for the mechanical performance of a particular relatively minute task. This process it is evident separates skill and knowledge even in their narrow relationship. When it is completed the worker is no longer a craftsman in any sense, but is an animated tool of the management. He has no need of special craft knowledge or craft skill, or any power to acquire them if he had, and any man who walks the street is a competitor for his job.

There is no body of skilled workmen today safe from the one or the other of these forces tending to deprive them of their unique craft knowledge and skill. Only what may be termed frontier trades are dependent now on all-around craftsmen. These trades are likely at any time to be standardized and systematized and to fall under the influ-

ence of this double process of specialization. The problem thus raised is the greatest one which organized labor faces. For if we do not wish to see the American workman reduced to a great semi-skilled and perhaps little organized mass, a new mode of protection must be found for the working conditions and standards of living which unions have secured, and some means must be discovered of giving back to the worker what he is fast losing in the narrowing of the skill and the theft of his craft knowledge. It is another problem which the organized workmen must solve for themselves and for society.

Under these circumstances the progressive degeneration of craftsmanship and the progressive degradation of skilled craftsmen seem inevitable.

B. Labor Does Not Restrict Output.

(Taken from "Who Limits Output?" in *Pattern Makers' Journal*, October, 1919, p. 1)

That section of the press which is not given to being overly careful in statements concerning Labor is likely to make no fine distinction between shortage of commodities and profiteering in commodities. Nor is it likely to do anything that will remove the impression that Labor, by its own decision is contributing to the shortage of commodities through conscious limitation of output.

The whole tone of this expression is that the producers of the world are not producing, that the working people are not working as they ought. The working people of the United States have never considered, much less adopted, a policy of limitation of output, and in the last twenty years not even has any appreciable group of workers held any such policy. It is foreign to every principle they hold, and foreign to the whole code of ethics of the organized labor movement. It can not be too emphatically stated that there is on the part of American labor no limitation of output of any character. The contrary fact is that there is in the United States unemployment due to the disinclination of employers to conduct their establishments at full capacity.

Labor, with ample reason and proof, places the blame for the false situation in which the world finds itself squarely upon those who are masters of the productive

machinery of the world. It demands relief of the most fundamental character. In so far as it can contribute thought and goodwill and helpful effort toward a solution of the world's difficulties, it will so contribute with eagerness and gladness. But there must be relief and remedy at once. To find that relief and that remedy the true situation must be recognized and all false statements and conclusions avoided.

That Labor is a contributing factor to the common distress because of a policy of restriction of output is one of the first and most flagrant examples of falsehood which must be discarded. Only a frank recognition of facts will help toward a final constructive solution, and nothing less than that will satisfy a weary and war-worn world.

C. Trade Unions Accept the Machine.

(Taken from "Accept the Machine—Organize the Workers," an address by Samuel Gompers at Cigar Makers' Convention, August, 1923, reprinted from *American Federationist in Cigar Makers' Official Journal*, September, 1923, p. 718)

I feel a very deep interest in the question before the convention at the present time. Lest I might forget it, I can not allow this moment to pass without taking cognizance of the statement made by Delegate Rhine—let well enough alone. If that were the policy of the labor movement in general, we should be where the working people of the United States were fifty years ago. The fact of the matter is we can not let well enough alone; it won't let us alone.

I remember working in one of the large shops in New York City, and when we were fairly well organized as trade unionism was then understood, the question of molds was before the union. In the old Turner Hall in Orchard Street, New York, the members divided as to those who would favor a strike against the molds and those who would favor molds. And I remember going with a crowd of the boys who voted to strike against the introduction of the molds if an attempt was made to introduce them. And I remember the time when, as a result of that vote, Conrad Kuhn, president of that organization, came to our shop, and said, as he did to other shops: "This shop is on strike,"

and not a mother's son of us remained in the shop a minute after. We struck, and it was a hard struggle; we lost and the molds were introduced.

I am free to say that from that time there came some light to my mind, and I realized then for the first time that it was absolutely futile for workmen to protest against or go on strike against the introduction of a new machine, a new device or a new tool.

In the old time when the cotton spinning jenny was introduced and the machine put into the textile plants the men in the industry, outraged at seeing their trade taken away from them, a trade they had served several years to acquire, destroyed the machine. Was the machine destroyed? Yes, but was the idea destroyed? No. The blue prints were in existence for that machine, and in any event the scheme and the plan was in the mind of someone who had burned the midnight oil. The machines in the textile industry became universal in every modern country.

The conditions of the textile workers are not what they ought to be by any means, but were the conditions of old, when the men worked by hand, better than those that now prevail? By no means. The hours of labor were from sun up to sun down, and as soon as artificial light was discovered the men and women and children worked from early morning until late at night, until organization took place among them and reduced their hours of labor from sixteen to twelve, to ten, to nine, and in many instances to eight, and their whole condition has improved.

Delegate Hilfers referred to the glass bottle blowers. He gave a graphic description of what occurred. That organization has dwindled, but in addition it has made every automatic bottle blowing machine operator, every man who operates one of those machines a mortal enemy of the organization.

President Perkins adds at this time to my remark, and I want to incorporate it as my own, giving him credit for his statement, that they will not come into the union now.

The water carriers of Egypt protested when pipe lines were being laid to carry water to some central parts of the cities, because it did away with their trade of carrying water. The ricksha runners of China raised a revolution because horses were put to wagons to carry people. In

some of our cities hack drivers protested against the erection of railroad stations near the cities because it took away their jobs.

Some years ago I had occasion to travel in the southern states, and there I saw in the middle of rivers colored men who were dredging with buckets and long poles. They were getting 20 and 30 cents a day. Wherever men are cheap no machinery is used in industry or any other way. It is only when men are dear and wages are high that machinery is brought in.

The Typographical Union has been mentioned. I had the pleasure of having the opportunity to meet with the late William B. Prescott, then president of the International Typographical Union; his office and the office of the American Federation of Labor were in the same building, the DeSota Block, Indianapolis, Indiana, and I talked with him on this question. With his courageous spirit he went before the people and pleaded with them to recognize the Mergenthaler machine, and instead of what would have occurred, that girls running typewriting machines to operate the Mergenthaler Typesetting machine, it was the printer that was given a chance to learn the trade over again. What has been the result? Wages higher in the printing trades, hours of labor lower, the eight-hour day prevailing in the industry and on the newspapers the 44-hour week, and the International Typographical, to secure the 44-hour week has expended more than \$15,000,000. And it has more members and more money in its treasury than before the strike took place.

The garment workers sewed with the needle, and then there was a riot and a revolt when the sewing machine came in. There are now many tailors who do nothing but make fine clothes by hand sewing. But what has happened to the men in the garment industry? Working instead of in old-time sweatshop, in sanitary factories, working not more than 44 hours a week, and a better organization than ever obtained in their history.

The miners of old worked with the pick and shovel, and they were slaves in the mines. From miserable conditions, slavish conditions, electrical power has been employed and the men are earning more wages, working

shorter hours, not because they opposed the machine, but because they accepted it.

The shoe workers, the old cobblers, that made shoes before the time of many of you, worked long hours and for a mere pittance. The modern shoe industry requires about 64 operations, 64 different people to do certain parts of it before the shoe is completed.

I don't want anyone to infer from what I have said that I am content with the conditions those men enjoy. There isn't anything in this world or beyond it that I do not want the workers of America to have.

I ask any delegate in this convention whether he knows of any trade where the union has recognized the machine or improved tool where the conditions of the working people were made worse. It is not in the order of nature and of things. The better we organize the more thoroughly will we be in a position to defend not only that which we have, but to move onward and forward for the things which ought to be ours and which we can obtain.

D. Scientific Management Disregards the Human Factor.

(Taken from "The Relationship of Scientific Management to Labor," an address by John P. Frey before the Western Economic Association, which held sessions in Chicago, March 14-15, 1913, printed in *American Federationist*, April, 1913, pp. 296-9)

That system for the increasing of production, popularly called scientific management, is a subject of sufficient importance to the wage-earner and the industries of our country to warrant the careful examination of all thoughtful men, for, in addition to the problem of production, it involves the workman's standard of mechanical efficiency, his physical welfare and his social status.

If scientific management in its final analysis fails to increase the workman's earnings, develop his mechanical ability, lengthen his period of usefulness, elevate his standard of living, and distribute in an equitable manner, between capital and Labor, the gains from increased productiveness, it has failed to deserve the title conferred upon it.

With the object of avoiding any confusion of termi-

nology in the discussion of the subject the following definition is submitted:

By scientific management, we have in mind those methods for increasing production which have been advocated within very recent years by several gentlemen who are recognized as among the most prominent advocates and exponents of systems for the standardization, systematization, planning and routing of work in manufacturing establishments and in offices, the grouping and operating of machines to their greatest efficiency, coupled with time studies of manual movements, the elimination of unnecessary motions by employes while at work and their stimulation to greater effort by piece-work, bonus, task, differential, premium, or other systems rather than by a daily wage rate.

Any system which will lower the cost of production by eliminating inefficient management or unnecessary labor through the adoption of more practical methods of operation should be welcomed and encouraged, for inefficiency in any form can only result in placing a needless burden on the cost of production and to the extent that it exists, retards in inverse ratio the progress of industry and the production of wealth. Whether it is in the machine or the workman himself, all motions which do not accomplish definite and practical results, all unnecessary movements, result only in wasted energy, and wasted energy is a dead loss. With any system which will eliminate useless labor the American trade union movement will be found in full accord.

While scientific management in some of its phases has entered into the most minute details, on some important factors connected with production, it touches but lightly and indefinitely, while other equally important ones are practically ignored. This is particularly true of its attitude towards workmen, the flesh and blood human beings who are to be developed into semi-automatic attachments to machines or rigid and inflexible forms of directing production, if one feature of this system is to be applied.

The efficiency of a workman is not to be determined solely by his ability to feed continuously and operate a machine, or perform some other task with a never-changing motion at high speed, acquired as the result of time and motion studies by those who may be employed as experts

in this work. To a very large extent his efficiency will depend upon his alertness of mind and physical responsiveness, and his ability to maintain both under the numbing influence of his monotonous task.

Trade unions have been unjustly accused on the one hand of preventing apprenticeship, while on the other, and in contradiction of that charge, an effort is made to discover the reasons why the boys of the rising generation seem unwilling to apprentice themselves in the trades. So strong is this disinclination on their part that during the past decade the wages paid to apprentices have been practically doubled, and yet in many industries it is most difficult to secure or retain apprentices. It is our opinion that the intense specialization and subdivision of work as developed in our American systems of production is the most prominent cause, for the boys and their parents have come to believe that apprenticeship in most cases does not mean the development of mechanics, but rather the production of specialists skilled only in some simple subdivision into which the method of production has been developed, and unable because of their lack of mechanical and manual skill to hold their own as journeymen mechanics on the termination of their apprenticeship.

Through their cooperative courses, in which the coming generation of engineers are being educated, our leading universities are recognizing the principle that theoretical knowledge must be supplemented by practical experience in the industries during the course of study, if the highest efficiency is to be attained. And likewise the manufacturing establishments are learning that well equipped superintendents and foremen can not secure satisfactory results from workmen deficient in mechanical skill and knowledge.

Advocates of scientific management will contend that it is not their intention to speed the workman to his extreme physical limit, and it is quite possible, by quoting detached expressions from their works on the subject, to give a color of truth to this contention; but no practical man acquainted with the methods of production and the influences which emanate from the management of a corporation through the superintendent, foreman, and subforemen to the workmen, to stimulate their productivity, will fail to realize that, even though the system of scientific

management with its time studies, its precise form of organization, and its premiums and bonuses to workmen and foremen for quantity in production, was established in any plant by the best trained and most just experts and with a proper care that no workman would be driven to speedy physical exhaustion, it must soon degenerate into a system under which each workman would be forced to labor to the physical breaking point or drop out to make room for others whose vitality had not yet been exhausted.

E. Scientific Management Essentially Autocratic.

(Taken from "Scientific Management and Labor," by John P. Frey, in *American Federationist*, May, 1916, p. 358)

Organized labor has declared that "scientific management" is essentially autocratic, a reversion to industrial autocracy which forces the workers to depend upon the employer's conception of fairness and justice and limits the democratic safeguards of the workers, that it tends to gather up and to transfer to the management all the traditional knowledge, the judgment and the skill of the workers, and monopolizes their initiative and skill in connection with work; that it ordinarily allows the workmen no voice in hiring or discharging, the setting of the task, the determination of the wages or the general conditions of employment; that it greatly intensifies unnecessary managerial dictation and discipline; tends to prevent the presentation and denies the adequate consideration of grievances and tends to increase the number of shop offenses and the amount of docking and fining; it introduces the spirit of mutual suspicion and contest among the men and thus destroys the solidarity and cooperative spirit of the group; it has refused to deal with the workers except as individuals; it is incompatible with and destructive to unionism; it destroys all the protective rules established by unionism; and, finally, it is incompatible with and destructive to collective bargaining.

Industrial democracy, as we understand it, is that condition in the industries which acknowledges and accepts the right of Labor to a collective voice in determining what the terms of employment shall be, and the conditions under which labor is to be performed. It gives practical

application to the principle that government in the shop, like government in the nation, should be by the consent of the governed.

F. Labor Is Interested in Successful Management of Industry.

(Taken from "Unions Reduce Industrial Waste," by William Green, A. F. of L. Pamphlet)

Labor is interested in the successful management of industry because it reasons that with the introduction of economy processes, in the development of efficiency and increased production the cost of manufacturing and production can be reduced without lowering the standard of the workers or reducing wages. Labor firmly believes that if the cost of production of commodities must be lowered it should be accomplished through the promotion of efficiency in workmanship and management, the elimination of waste and the introduction of economy processes. This belief is contrary to the old accepted rule of reasoning which held that a lowering of the cost of production could only be brought about through a reduction in wages.

High wages can command efficiency in service. In turn, the efficiency so secured is reflected in the volume of productivity and, in many instances, in the character and quality of the manufactured article.

Labor does not want to waste its energies and its resources by engaging in industrial conflicts. It prefers industrial peace and the settlement of industrial disputes through peaceful methods. Labor understands fully the cost of industrial strife and the sacrifice it must make when forced to strike. It is determined, however, to assert its right to organize and to bargain collectively, regardless of cost or sacrifice.

G. Maximum Production Can Only be Obtained Through Voluntary and Mutual Cooperation in Production Management.

(Taken from Report of Executive Council, A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1920, pp. 86-8)

Labor has enunciated the principle that the workers are entitled to an effective voice in the management and con-

trol of industry. To a larger degree than ever before, this principle was agreed to by employers during the war. It was found that it produced results of great value in the winning of the war. It made industry more productive.

In the 1918 convention, the American Federation of Labor laid down principles which, if followed in practice, would result in the maximum effectiveness of industry. It is a fact that where there has been the greatest fulfillment of these principles in practice there has production been at its best and there has Labor been most ardent in its efforts and most fully rewarded for its service.

Production is a cooperative undertaking. It is at its best when there is the fullest cooperation. Cooperation is voluntary. It is the negative of compulsion or coercion.

Slave labor gave way to free labor in the industrial north long before it was obliterated in the south because slave industry could not compete with free industry.

It is a curious chapter of industrial history that whereas wage labor in industry was surrounded with great freedom in the beginning of factory production, it lost freedom with the growth of factory production, necessitating a bitter struggle on the part of workers through organization. To-day we face a time in which the pressure of a world hunger for necessities brings to a head the whole struggle for the further extension of freedom, of voluntary effort, of cooperation in industry.

Workers do not shirk work where work allows the free expression of life and thought. The hated task is the slave task. The slow worker is the driven worker, the unfree worker, the unconsulted and unconsidered tool of a mechanism.

The 1918 convention laid down this principle:

Those contributing to production should have a part in its control.

It further concluded that in all large permanent shops a regular arrangement should be provided whereby:

First, a committee of the workers would regularly meet with the shop management, to confer over matters of production; and whereby:

Second, such committee could carry, beyond the foreman and the superintendent, to the general manager or

to the president, any important grievance which the workers may have with reference to wages, hours, and conditions.

In addition to this, the convention declared that:

It is fundamental for efficiency in production that the essentials of teamwork be understood and followed by all. There must be opportunity for intercourse and exchange of viewpoints between workers and managers. It is this machinery of solving industrial problems that is fundamental.

We reaffirm those principles.

There is a widespread misconception of the meaning of the term "labor." Many employers apparently hold that labor power is something that is to be had for the expenditure of money, that is something apart from conscious life and that it is something to be controlled and utilized by those who hire or direct labor.

Labor is the productive power of men and women. It is the exercise of the power of mankind to sustain itself. Labor is the great underlying factor in the existence of humankind. Of all living organisms mankind alone has the power to use labor effort intelligently.

The conception that some can avoid labor and retain the right to direct others who do labor is malicious and wrong.

There must be given to each individual a voice in the shaping of his life and this right must extend to the workers in their organized capacity to be exercised through their chosen representatives.

Industry today requires these remedial measures:

It requires greater democracy in order to give to the workers full voice in assisting in its direction.

It requires more intelligent management and acceptance of the principle that production is for use and not for profit alone.

It requires full and free acceptance and use of the best that invention has to offer.

It requires bold and audacious reconstruction of method and process in the conduct of basic industries.

Labor does not oppose introduction of improved methods in industry. It courts and encourages improvements in processes and machinery. What it will always resist is the introduction of these processes and this machinery at the expense of the workers.

There is a knowledge of industry among the workers in industry of which society has not begun to avail itself. The effort has been to suppress use of that knowledge and to demean those who possess it. The workers know their work as none but the workers can know it. The shoemaker knows his last and the engineer understands the capacity of his engine.

The workers are appalled at the waste and ignorance of management, but they are too frequently denied the chance to offer their knowledge for use.

They decline to be enslaved by the use of their own knowledge and they can not give of it freely or effectively except as equals in industry, with all the rights and privileges and with all the stature and standing of employers.

Adoption of the principle of voluntary effort, of full cooperation in industry, will bring to the industrial life of the nation such an impetus that production will cease forever to be a problem in American life.

Adoption of the principles we here urge will inevitably result in a rapid decrease of the number of non-producers who at present live by fastening themselves in one useless capacity or another upon the industrial life of the country. Proper absorption of non-producers into useful channels would be but a simple problem.

The welfare of the workers must be a paramount consideration. There can be no progress and no gain in production volume if there is not such consideration. But a greater mutuality in industry would insure proper safeguarding of the rights of workers.

Only by such methods and under such principles can there be an advance in production which does not penalize the worker for his own industriousness and for his own alertness and inventiveness.

Autocratic industry kills incentive. It punishes brilliancy of achievement. It warps the mind and drains the energy from the body. We have repeatedly condemned the principle of autocratic control of industry and we now declare that short of its complete removal from our industrial life there is no industrial salvation and no hope of abundance in our time.

We urge the setting up of conference boards of organized workers and employers, thoroughly voluntary in char-

acter and in thorough accord with our trade union organizations, as means of promoting the democracy of industry through development of cooperative effort. We point out to employers the fact that industry, which is the life blood of our civilization, can not be made the plaything and the pawn of a few who by chance today hold control. Industry is the thing by which all must live and it must be given the opportunity to function at its best.

Labor turnover is but one of the evils which will disappear in proportion as the workers are given voice in management. This is proven by statistics which show the lowest turnover in those industries where the workers exercise the most effective voice by reason of the highest degree of organization.

We propose the salvation of industry. We propose the means whereby the world may be fed and clothed and housed and given happiness. We have service to give and if permitted to give freely and on terms of manhood and equality we will give in abundance. We can not be driven as slaves, but we can give mighty service in a common effort of human kind.

H. Union Management Cooperation in Production is Extension of Collective Bargaining Principle.

(Taken from "Recent Extension of Collective Bargaining," by Bert M. Jewell, *American Federationist*, July, 1925. Also reprinted in "Union Management Cooperation," A. F. of L. Pamphlet)

Cooperation is the essence of collective bargaining; industrial freedom can, and will obtain, where both groups of investors will cooperate through their respective organizations and representatives thereof and this cooperation should be extended from time to time, to such matters as by conference and mutual agreement between their representatives it is determined to be of common interest.

This collective bargaining has been practiced and advocated by these trade unions and from time to time and in varying degrees as these trade unions could convince the representatives of management that in certain matters there was a common interest, the representatives of management have accepted the cooperation of these organizations and have cooperated with them.

Therefore, there was nothing strange or new or revolutionary in President William H. Johnston of the International Association of Machinists and others representing these trade unions, urging at different times during 1921, and the early part of 1922, upon Mr. Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the soundness of these principles and beliefs and urging that he afford an opportunity of demonstrating, by actual application of these principles and beliefs, that they were sound and that collective bargaining, as then practiced between these unions and the Baltimore and Ohio management could be, and should be, in the furtherance of their common interest, and in order to improve the service of that carrier, extended to embrace other matters.

Just before the World War, as the result of long years of oppression and mistreatment by managements, there was in the railroad industry widespread distrust, dissatisfaction and low morale among the railroad employes.

When the Government was compelled, in part by this widespread and growing lack of cooperation, to take over and operate the railroads, one of the first declarations of policy was that the Government would give all railroad employes a "square deal."

To all railroad employes for the first time in history, and this by their government, not by the railroad managers, it was declared that "No discrimination will be made in the employment, retention, or conditions of employment, or employes because of membership or nonmembership in labor organizations. . . . "There must be cooperation, not antagonism; confidence, not suspicion; mutual helpfulness, not grudging performances; just consideration, not arbitrary disregard of each other's rights and feelings; a fine discipline based on mutual respect and sympathy; and an earnest desire to serve the great public faithfully and efficiently. This is the new spirit and purpose that must pervade every part and branch of the railroad service."

Railroad employes responded to this spirit until in the early part of 1920 when the roads were returned to private control there was the finest esprit de corps among the railroad employes of any industry in the country.

"Deflation"—reduce the consuming power of the people of the country and there will be a greater and greater de-

mand for more and more goods—was the order of that particular time and the railroad industry like all others, became infected. This destructive serum was inoculated by railroad managements into the systems of all railroad employes in 1921 and into the greater part of them again in 1922. The Federated Shopcraftsmen—the consumers of revenue, necessary evils—were given by far the greatest dose. This campaign of management against railroad employes destroyed the high degree of morale which developed during the era of a “square deal.” We all remember the war of 1922 and its devastating results on our industry.

A truce was entered into between several railroads and the shop craft unions on September 14, 1922, and in February, 1923, an opportunity was given the shop crafts to make a demonstration of the workability of their philosophy. Glenwood shops in Pittsburgh, Pa., was selected.

These trade unions did not select and would not have selected, had it been left to them, Glenwood shops, for one reason at least among others; at this particular time there was undoubtedly less cooperation, more friction and, therefore, less production and higher labor costs in this shop than any other shop on the Baltimore and Ohio and probably on any railroad in the United States.

However, the management of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad agreed that the demonstration could be made, so far as they were concerned, in Glenwood shops. The unions were confident that the soundness of the fundamentals which they were advocating could be demonstrated anywhere, if given a fair opportunity. They had engaged the services of Mr. O. S. Beyer, Jr., a practical shop mechanic, a highly trained and widely experienced mechanical engineer, as well as a practical humanitarian. He was assigned by the organizations to assist and provide the demonstration to be made by these trade unions at this shop.

This demonstration was not regarded by the shopmen participating therein, as an experiment being made for their enlightenment; it was a demonstration which they were making in order to prove to the management, the soundness of the principles they were advocating.

At the end of twelve months the representatives of these trade unions believed that sufficient demonstration had been made and that management should be willing to agree

with them to extend collective bargaining—cooperation—joint employe-management—cooperation, or whatever term may be employed for descriptive purposes. What these trade unions were concerned about was that the spirit of the management of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad should be such as to permit management and workers to work *with*, not for, nor on, each other, and that they should *work with each other* upon all matters of *common* interest.

Conferences accordingly were requested by the representatives of the trade unions, and upon entering these conferences they urged that this spirit, or will to work together should or could be expressed in somewhat the following manner:

First: That management must grant and agree to full and cordial recognition of the bona fide trade unions of employes, as the employes' proper agents, in all matters affecting their welfare and also that these trade unions be accepted and recognized as necessary, not alone to the welfare of the employes and their own protection, but necessary, also, to management to insure successful operation of the railroad.

Second: That management extend to these bona fide trade unions and their representatives constructive, as well as protective, duties and responsibilities in the operation of the railroad.

Third: That management and these trade unions upon this basis and in this spirit agree to cooperate.

For improved transportation service, elimination of waste, increased production, better morale, greater regularity of employment, in such other matters as may, from time to time, be determined as being in their common interest.

Fourth: That management agree to share fairly with these workers, and to negotiate same through these trade unions, the results of their joint efforts.

Fifth: That both parties agree jointly to create, develop and maintain such agencies or administrative machinery as from time to time experience determines necessary to accomplish these purposes.

There is really no concrete plan of cooperation, just as there is no concrete and universally defined plan for collective bargaining. These trade unions, as well as the management of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, during these con-

ferences had agreed to in a proper way apply the spirit—the will to work together, and in March, 1923, by agreement certain agencies or administrative machinery necessary to cooperation were created at practically every point on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

In the railroad industry, like in most all industries, but apparently particularly in the railroad industry, there is a great amount of unjustifiable, indefensible and wholly wasteful irregularity of employment. This is particularly true as applied to those employes who do the maintenance or repair work.

In years past, managements of railroads have divided their workers into two general groups:

(a) Those who operate their trains, whom they regarded as producers of revenue—essential employes.

(b) Those who constructed, maintained and repaired the railroad and its equipment, whom they regarded as consumers of revenue—necessary evils.

The railroad industry is composed of ninety-five per cent human beings and five per cent materials; about sixty-five cents out of every dollar of gross revenue is spent for labor cost; there is no real workable cost accounting system in this industry; no other industry could survive without a cost accounting system; millions of dollars are invested in locomotives, cars, shops, road bed, bridges, etc.; when business moving falls below that volume which has been predetermined as necessary to produce a certain book net earning, then men are turned out of employment, shops are closed down or put on part time—all this without regard to the need for construction or repair to equipment, etc., then when business begins to move and the road bed, bridges, locomotives and cars are not in repair, then large forces of men are hired, worked long hours; work contracted out and sent away to other industries at enormously excessive prices. These peaks and valleys are not the exception, they are the rule; the number of employes on the pay roll has been increased one-half or one-third and reduced again by the same amount; time and again it costs from fifty dollars to three hundred dollars to bring a new employe into the industry; labor turnover of 200 per cent is not unheard of; and yet with all these startling facts widely known, little or

no progress, until within the last couple of years, has been made in eliminating irregularity of employment.

Therefore, one of the very first things that was agreed to, as a matter upon which both the management and these trade unions could cooperate and one of the very first things which the employes urged the management to agree to eliminate and proposed the plan by which it might be eliminated, was irregularity of employment.

Among other things, they proposed that there should be adopted as a slogan "B. and O. work in B. and O. Shops," and as an indication, and only an indication, of what has been accomplished along this line, during the year 1924, there was paid to Baltimore and Ohio shop craft employes in wages approximately three hundred and fifty thousand (\$350,000.00) dollars for work that ordinarily would have been performed by employes in outside contract shops, while at the same time, or during that same year, the B. and O. shopmen would have been laid off in reductions in force, or, stating this another way, there was performed during the year 1924 in the Baltimore and Ohio Shops, work costing a total of one million five hundred thousand (\$1,500,000.00) dollars that ordinarily would have been contracted out to other industries.

Consistent with reasonable business conditions, there will be paid to Baltimore and Ohio shop craft employes in wages, during the year 1925, for work that ordinarily would be given to other than railroad employes, approximately two million seven hundred and fifty thousand (\$2,750,000.00) dollars, or, in other words, in the joint effort to stabilize employment on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in two years, it has been possible to find a way whereby approximately one month's additional work can be secured for the entire shop forces of approximately twenty thousand employes.

It is always difficult to state statistically human relations. Therefore, as only indicative statistically of another phase of what has been accomplished and the ability and capacity of trade unions for cooperation, there was, within approximately a period of nine months, five thousand two hundred seventy-two suggestions of methods of improving the common welfare of both management and employes, offered in meetings between employes and management;

three thousand eight hundred ten or seventy-two and two-tenths per cent of these suggestions were adopted by management and put into effect. At that particular time there was still pending and undisposed of—nine hundred seventy-two suggestions and only four hundred five of the suggestions offered were found to be impracticable.

Again, as only indicative of the character of suggestions, they included such subjects as: Cooperation between departments, proper storage and care of material, distribution of material and fuel, tool equipment and distribution of hand tools, machine operation and crane service, scheduling of work through the shops, classification and handling of freight and passenger car repairs, method of making such repairs, method of handling and disposing of scrap, condition of shops and shop grounds, improvements of the service to the public, securing new and additional business, etc.

At each local point on the railroad, the chairman of the shop committee of each craft and certain designated representatives of management on a named day, twice each month, attend what are called local cooperative committee meetings and it is during these meetings that subjects similar to the above are discussed. They do not discuss grievances arising out of the application of wages or working conditions in these conferences. Those matters are not to be left unsettled for two weeks. It is recognized by both parties that a grievance long drawn out is substantially a grievance lost and some very important innovations and changes have, therefore, been made in the method of handling grievances, to the extent that, first, due to the new spirit now prevailing, practically no grievances arise because both the representatives of the management and of the employes now try to find a way to comply with the agreement instead of, as formerly it seemed to the employes, the representatives of management were always trying to find a way to violate the agreement.

These cooperative committee meetings do not have authority to decide questions. The responsibility for the decision is vested in and rests upon the representatives of managements. Management representatives retain the authority and responsibility of operating the railroad.

In addition to these local cooperative committee meetings, which are held twice each month at each shop point,

there is a meeting once each three months, and oftener when necessary, held in the general offices of the railroad in Baltimore, between the general chairmen of the respective shop crafts and the general mechanical officers and at these meetings there is discussed all characters of questions wherein either party believes it possible for them to jointly cooperate.

The employes have not surrendered any of their rights, authority or power—they have strengthened the hold on that which they had attained; they have enhanced their opportunity and increased their power to more fully protect their original investment and secure a more adequate return thereon. The management has not surrendered any of its rights, authority or power. Both are daily acquiring a better and broader view of their rights, authority, power, duties and service they are jointly rendering.

The management recognizes its duty and responsibility to the capital investors and the patrons of the railroad, as before, and in addition the realization is dawning that they also have a still greater group of investors, those who invest their lives, to whom they are at least equally responsible.

There are in the railroad industry certain managements who are so dumb or blind as to try to make themselves and others believe that workers who are compelled by management to joint associations created, maintained, officered and directed by management, are capable of, and will cooperate; that slaves will work with their master; that workers must be driven by management; that it is not management's duty to lead, instead of drive; they disregard all the facts, so well known to others, of the days of slavery in this country.

If nothing else has been accomplished during the last two years, the extension of collective bargaining on the Baltimore and Ohio and other railroads has proven that the investment of both groups of investors in the railroad industry can only be protected, adequate returns on that investment secured; transportation service improved; waste eliminated, and contentment instead of distrust and dissatisfaction prevail when management and employes through their respective self-created, maintained, governed

and officered organizations cooperate with each other on all matters where there is a common interest.

Confidence, conference and the proper regard for each others rights, duties and feelings reduces the probability of disagreement and industrial strife.

It is much harder to disagree with your friend or co-partner, than it is with your enemy. It is much harder to disagree with one who is in the same room and into whose eyes one can look while talking, than if that one were in another room, city, state or country, and you were not on speaking terms with him.

I. An Instance of Union Cooperation in Improving and Increasing Production.

(Taken from Report of President William H. Johnston to 17th Convention of the International Association of Machinists, printed in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, October, 1924, p. 467-71)

It was not until the spring of 1922 when a railroad executive was found who sufficiently understood the trend of the times and could so grasp the validity of the arguments for union management cooperation in industry as the next logical step forward from collective bargaining or the recognition of the bona fide labor unions and the signing of an agreement with them. This railroad executive was President Daniel Willard, of the Baltimore and Ohio.

At a conference between representatives of the Baltimore and Ohio System Federation No. 30, and the railroad management, Glenwood Shop in the Pittsburgh District was selected to develop the details of cooperation. Start was made in February, 1923, after the men locally in mass meeting had signified their willingness to assist in the experiment. Captain Beyer was delegated by our Association as Consulting Engineer to guide the development and to be of help and advice to both the shop management and the shop federations. I must say to the great credit of all union men at Glenwood, that they have given a splendid account of themselves, and have added the next great chapters to the history of the new order in the government of industry.

For the Glenwood experiment proved to the most skep-

tical that democracy in the management of railroad shops along the lines worked out by the International Association of Machinists was the most genuine and practical yet suggested. It got results for the men in keeping with their legitimate standard union aims and for management in keeping with its obligations. So successful was this initial tryout that it has since been extended to all shops on the Baltimore and Ohio, and is now being introduced in the shops of the Canadian National in Canada, and the Grand Trunk Western and Chesapeake and Ohio in the United States. Other railroad shop federations are also inquiring when they might hope to inaugurate developments along this line, and especially when they might have the services of Captain Beyer, whom we have had to release to the Railway Employees' Department to serve all shop crafts as Consulting Engineer. Thus the program of cooperation, which the International Association of Machinists originally helped develop and stood sponsor for, has now been taken over by all the shop craft unions. It should also be gratifying to note the interest which is being taken in the program by still others of our affiliated organizations.

The principles of railroad shop union management cooperation are these:

Principle (1), full and cordial recognition of our unions, simply means that they will be accepted hereafter as a necessary part of industrial administration whose presence is considered desirable and helpful. In most cases, as you know, where our crafts enjoy the right to bargain collectively, they are looked upon by the management as a necessary evil, not a benefit. The cooperative program demands first that our unions be accepted as assets not as liabilities in the operation of industries such as our railroads.

Principle (2), according to our unions, constructive functions as well as protective ones in the operation of industry, means the enlargement of the scope of collective bargaining, extending its jurisdiction as it were. Where we now enjoy recognition and have agreements with management, our task is simply to negotiate wage rates, working rules and prevent injustice to our members. This is our protective function. If, however, we want to lay claim to the argument, as the theory of industrial democracy stipulates, that industry can afford better wages and

working conditions when its workers share in the management of it, then we must be prepared to assume definite responsibility for better industrial performance. We must do this by means of our union organizations working in cooperation with management. Thus do we play a constructive, as well as a protective part in industrial government.

Principle (3), agreement between unions and management to cooperate for public service is the economic justification for enlarging the jurisdiction of our unions in industry. If as a result of cooperation railroads are not going to run better than they were before, then the workers' argument for more democracy in industry comes to naught.

Principle (4), sharing the gains of cooperation, is the economic justification for our part in the cooperative program. Even should industry be run better from the public or management's point of view as a result of cooperation, the workers' interest in cooperation would not long endure, if they themselves did not get tangible benefits out of it. These benefits must take the form, first, of steadier and more employment; second, better employment; third, greater yearly income, and fourth, better wage rates.

Principle (5), establishment of joint machinery of cooperation, really means doing something practical about principle 2, i. e., according to unions constructive functions in management. Thus, for example, in the railroad shop service the regular local and system federation committees of the organized shopmen confer at regularly stipulated times with parallel committees representing management about shop policy and operation, such as job analysis, scheduling and routing of work, building up shop forces, hiring new men, developing new lines of work, stabilizing employment, providing better tools and equipment, better apprentice training, etc., etc.

I should explain, perhaps, that the machinery of cooperation does not replace, but is an addition to that which usually prevails for the adjustment of grievances. Grievances are handled as they always have been, by regular committeemen the moment they arise. In fact, it has been found both expedient and practical, as on the Baltimore and Ohio in connection with the cooperative program, to still further perfect the ordinary machinery of grievance adjust-

ment so as to expedite the handling of grievances. This has been a decided gain to our men, resulting more or less directly from cooperation.

J. Industrial Education Must Not Serve Selfish Commercial Interests.

(Taken from Report of Committee on Education, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1915, pp. 322-3).

A careful review of our industrial conditions will furnish evidence that there are many industries which formerly offered the workers opportunities far more than a physical or sustenance existence, which has been divided and subdivided until the vocation itself, in some instances, is becoming a lost art. The ever-increasing specialization in industrial pursuits, due to existing industrial practices, which limits the workers to but one form of automatic work, or confines them to a highly special branch of work, is a very serious evil confronting the workers and society today. As specialization increases, this evil will logically and proportionately increase unless stringent measures are adopted to prevent the evils of monotonous and automatic work. What good will come in imparting industrial education in our public schools, if our children are permitted to be fastened to a machine, requiring but the repetition of a few muscular motions? Vocational education is not enough; extreme specialization must be abolished. The future industrial life of our children demands that their immature years are spent in a proper physical and mental upbringing. Then, too, industrial education should not be allowed to coordinate itself with any arrangement which will bring trained and experienced workers into any trade without regard to the demand for labor in that particular trade or calling. A proper apportionment of the supply of labor to the demand of labor must be maintained. What good will industrial education serve; what benefit can be derived, if by such teaching we are able to produce a greater number of trained and skilled workers than is required or is possible to be employed in the respective trades or callings? Industrial education under such conditions can only increase the existing economic pressure upon the workers. Industrial education must, therefore, be based on a careful survey of industrial conditions and trade requirements, and

should meet the needs and requirements of the workers, as well as those of employers and the industry.

Ever since the establishment of our public school system, there has been a constant and persistent attempt by large commercial interests to control our public system of education, and to do it for their own selfish purpose. These interests have tried time and time again to control the courses of preparation and of training our children solely for the purpose of using them in turning out a maximum amount of articles of exchange and commerce at the lowest possible cost to themselves. In substantiation of these assertions we need only reflect upon the effort made a few years ago in Cleveland, Ohio, and more recently in Chicago, Illinois, where the commercial interests succeeded in influencing the respective Boards of Education to adopt rules which denied our public school teachers the freedom of expression and the right of association. To that degree at least, the teaching force of our public schools has been rendered submissive to the will of these commercial interests. These and other manifestations, on the part of the employing and commercial interests to dominate our public schools' affairs, impel your committee to utter a word of caution and to fully advise you that the future of our public schools and the character of teaching our boys and girls, depend largely upon the attitude and exercise of the forces of labor. It is for labor to say whether their children shall receive a real education in our public schools, or whether they are to be turned out as machine made products, fitted only to work and to become part and parcel of a machine instead of human beings with a life of their own, and a right to live that life under rightful living conditions.

Perhaps the most vicious element threatening to divert the movement of industrial education in our public schools from our American ideals of democracy in education, is the continuous effort made by the commercial interests to place industrial education under the direction of a distinctive board of management, separate from the board of administration governing the general education of the children. A division and separation of authority in educational studies, we believe, will establish a division of educational systems in the minds of the school children and

their parents, wherein industrial education, instead of proving supplementary to our general education, will be looked upon as the main and most important public system of education. Vocational school courses should at all times be under the guidance and control of school authorities having control of the general education of the children. The unit system of administration is best adapted to educating our children properly for their future guidance as citizens and as workers.

K. Industrial Education Must Not be Used to Further Anti-union Propaganda.

(Taken from Report of Committee on Education,
A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1908, p. 234)

Whereas, Industrial Education is necessary and inevitable for the progress of an industrial people; and

Whereas, There are two groups with opposite methods, and seeking antagonistic ends, now advocating industrial education in the United States; and

Whereas, One of these groups is largely composed of the non-union employers of the country who advance industrial education as a special privilege under conditions that educate the student or apprentice to non-union sympathies and prepare him as a skilled worker for scab labor and strike breaking purposes, thus using the children of the workers against their organized fathers and brothers in the various crafts; and

Whereas, This group also favors the training of the student or apprentice for skill in only one industrial process, thus making the graduate a skilled worker in only a very limited sense and rendering him entirely helpless if lack of employment comes in his single subdivision of a craft; and

Whereas, The other group is composed of great educators, enlightened representatives of organized labor and persons engaged in genuine social service, who advocate industrial education as a common right to be open to all children on equal terms to be provided by general taxation and kept under the control of the whole people with a method or system of education that will make the apprentice or graduate a skilled craftsman in all the branches of his trade; and

Whereas, Organized labor has the largest personal and the highest public interest in the subject of industrial education, and should enlist its ablest and best men in behalf of the best system, under conditions that will promote the interests of the workers and the general welfare; . . . [The Resolution which followed was adopted by the convention.]

CHAPTER XXIV

SAFE, SANITARY AND HEALTHY WORKING CONDITIONS

A. Unions Were Pioneers in Industrial Hygiene.

(Taken from "Industrial Medicine," an address delivered by President Samuel Gompers at a meeting of the Conference Board of Physicians in Industry, New York City, April 4, 1924, printed in *American Federationist*, May, 1924, p. 394ff.)

Organized labor was a pioneer in the field of industrial hygiene. In the many years in which I have been associated with industry, I have observed the development of industrial hygiene from its very beginnings.

In the 60's when I began working in the cigar factories of New York industrial hygiene was unknown. Factories were physically unattractive places with no conveniences for the employes—oil lamps, stoves, crude lighting, primitive toilet facilities, no towels, no systems of ventilation.

The beginnings of industrial hygiene were the personal standards of cleanliness and comfort of the workmen. The first steps in the development of sanitary standards were labor protests against revolting and harmful conditions. Through our union we made demands for changes. I remember a strike against unbearably offensive toilets. It was the union that first compelled attention to unsanitary factory practices.

At another time by threatening to quit work, we prevented the foreman from changing a fellow worker from a seat by the window to a dark corner in order to make a place for one of his friends. We could not always present scientific justification for our complaints but based our demand upon humanitarian reasons and we compelled

the attention of the humanitarians and those who had technical information.

A further illustration of the pioneer work of unions was our ten-year fight to abolish the practice of tenement manufacture of cigars. That fight of the cigar makers' union brought our industry back into factories, focused attention upon the relationship between industrial sanitation and public health and was a factor in the enactment of a tenement code establishing minimum standards for tenement construction.

The next important health measure our union established was the eight-hour day. As our union had established a number of union benefits we kept fairly comprehensive vital statistics. The eight-hour day was established in our industry in 1886—years afterward we found that the average life of our membership had been increased fifteen years.

The illustrations taken from the experiences of my own union could be duplicated by similar happenings in practically every union. Like all pioneer undertakings, methods and agencies were frequently determined by necessity. The scientific method could follow only the study of the pioneer experiences.

With the development of public health agencies and preventive medicine came understanding of the health aspects of industrial practices and conditions. To the scientists studying this field, the human beings employed in industries were more or less distinguishable from the microbes and other laboratory phenomena.

Again it was necessary for the workers to demonstrate clearly and forcefully that they were humans and that any other treatment of them was unscientific and unscientific use of combustibles such as constitute human nature may lead to dangerous explosions.

Here we have a fundamental in planning to include industrial hygiene as an integral part of industrial organization. There can be no question but that industrial hygiene is essential both for the welfare of the workers and for the best interests of the industry, but if the basis of administration does not conform to principles of sound industrial relations it will result in conditions neither beneficent nor profitable.

Every industrial establishment represents associated effort. Unless management provides plans for proper coordination under which all elements that contribute to production "mesh in" in a way that allows free play for all—trouble men will be working overtime. The efficiency of management depends upon the extent and degree to which all management policies are motivated by sound industrial relations.

The first step in production is organization of all factors in production. This law of organization applies to humans just as much as to materials. Organization must follow natural lines if it is to help in assimilating group experience and thus lead to formulation of group opinion and action.

To those of you responsible for administration of practical industrial medicine, it is not necessary to emphasize the value of this sort of organized agency for cooperation in the promotion of hygienic practices. Science and skill are handicapped without the full cooperation of those to be benefited. Workmen want to avoid disease and accident but they want most of all to avoid loss of self-esteem and independence.

Though responsibility for industrial hygiene rests primarily upon industry, workers are not helpless if industry fails to act. As for example, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union maintains a health bureau and provides medical, dental and other health services to its membership at nominal costs.

Fees for medical services constitute one of the chief barriers to health among the poor, for after all industrial hygiene is almost inseparable from public health. The consequences of home conditions accompany the workman to the shop and when he returns at the end of the day's work he can not leave behind germs and physical ills that have accumulated in his body during the day.

The sweatshop is not yet a thing of the past and is a menace both to those within those industries as well as to the users of their products. Then there are the dusty trades with their insidious menace to the respiratory organs; those attended by poison hazards, as painting, explosives, infected materials, such as hides, etc. There

is hardly an occupation with its health hazard—preventable or reducible in practically all cases.

The continued development of industrial medicine until prevention shall approach its maximum is of tremendous importance to us as a nation as well as to the individuals concerned. It is of vital importance to industry because of the value of continuity of service from workers trained in the methods of the establishment and of the greater productive capacity of healthy workers. One of the most effective general health measures would be the development of clinics where professional service could be had for charges that would not debar the poor.

Such clinics would be under joint auspices of the industry, organizations of the workers and the United States Public Health Service or State Board of Health. Where industries are small, allied industries could inaugurate cooperative plans.

I urge finally that industrial medicine avoid the errors of paternalism and that it be truly scientific not only as to the content of its own professional field but as to the performance of its practical service as an agent of management. The worker pays tribute to the great ideal of the medical profession—service in the promotion of human welfare—and we are doubly anxious that in the development of new aspects of the profession that ideal shall be more sharply defined and given wider scope for benefaction.

B. Joint Control of Shop Conditions.

1. JOINT BOARD OF SANITARY CONTROL

(Taken from Tenth Annual Report of George M. Price of Joint Board of Sanitary Control in Cloak, Suit, Skirt, Dress and Waist Industries of New York, 1921, pp. 3, 5-6; *Twelfth Annual Report*, 1923, pp. 62-4)

At the July, 1910, conferences held under the Chairmanship of Hon. Louis D. Brandeis, by the representatives of the associated manufacturers in the women's ready-to-wear cloak trade and the representatives of the organized workers, both sides admitted the existence of insanitary conditions in the workshops of the industry, the inability of state labor legislation to improve conditions and the

failure of the state factory administration to curb the "sweat-shop" evil. Recognizing the responsibility of the industry as a whole for the condition of its workshops, they proposed to introduce a system of sanitary self control.

It was clear to the representatives of the employers, the workers and the public at the conference that for the future progress in industrial betterment, no sole reliance may be placed upon either the employers, the state, or upon the workers themselves. A union of all industrial factors, a concerted action by all parts of the industry was needed before a radical and fundamental improvement could be achieved.

It was this realization that prompted the enunciation at that conference of the new principles of sanitary improvement and control. These may be summarized as follows:

That an industry is responsible for the conditions existing in its establishments.

That it is futile to expect improvement in industrial conditions by state legislation and enforcement.

That it is the duty of an industry to control, supervise and improve the sanitary conditions of its establishments without depending upon outside agents.

That the general public is directly and vitally interested in the sanitary conditions existing in an industry.

That decent sanitary conditions of the workshops is a debt which manufacturers owe to the public and to the workers.

That an efficient and permanent improvement in conditions of industrial establishments can be brought about only by the efforts and through the cooperation of the employers and the workers, and by the assistance of the public. In other words, by industrial self control.

These then were the reasons for the establishment of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the garment industries and the new principles of industrial health control which its establishment meant.

The formulation of principles, however, was but a foundation upon which a new super-structure in progressive industrial investigation, legislation, inspection and enforcement was to be erected.

In order to know the conditions, in order to legislate

for the industry, it was necessary first to make a thorough survey and a detailed investigation of the conditions of the workshops. Hence, a preliminary survey of the industry was the first work of the newly established Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

As soon as the investigation was completed and clearly showed the defects in the working conditions, the industry, through the representatives of the employers and the workers, was asked to establish new standards, rules and regulations, suitable for this industry and the peculiar conditions under which it is conducted. Hence, the Sanitary Standards established by the Board, by the recommendation of representatives of the industry, and their adoption by the whole industry.

The next problem that confronted the newly established Board was the need of a radical change in methods of factory inspection.

The Board revolutionized the methods of inspection. It substituted for the prevailing detective methods, educational and advisory visits and advisory interviews for sporadic police methods of swooping down upon factories and trying to detect employers in violations of the labor laws.

Advisory inspection does not antagonize the employer, is constructive and hence is not sporadic and unwelcome. It consists in personal interviews with employers, in efforts to advise them how to improve conditions in conferences with leaders of the employers as well as of the labor unions, and emphasizes the fact that inspection is a part of the industrial organization of the employers and workers themselves to improve their own conditions.

The work of the year 1922 consisted in inspection, enforcement, educational activities and the conduct of fire drills.

INSPECTIONS

There were two semi-annual reinspections made of all the shops in the two industries, one in February and March and the other in October and November.

In this inspection 3,207 shops and 48,414 workers were found.

The total number of inspections made in the shops by the inspectors during the year was 18,884. In addition

to the general inspections during the year, there were two special inspections made, one, during November, in the Dress and Waist Industry during which 1,724 inspections were made; the other inspection was that of buildings and the shops therein. During the latter inspection, 1,168 buildings were inspected and 8,464 shops in these were likewise inspected.

Enforcement—The work of enforcement was continued by the methods hitherto employed. During the year we had the cooperation of the Municipal Health Department and of the New York State Industrial Commission in the enforcement of various orders issued to improve sanitation and safety. Much of the enforcement was, of course, the result of personal interviews and the work of the inspectors and of the Educational Department.

Educational Activities—These consisted in the noon lectures which were given by the educational staff to the workers during noon recess and likewise in the reports and booklets distributed among the employers and the health calendars and other printed matter distributed among the workers.

The noon health talks have become an established institution in many of the shops and more and more employers as well as workers ask for these talks.

Fire Drills—The Fire Drill Division continued its splendid work during the year, maintaining fire drills and introducing fire drills in many new shops. During the year drills were maintained in nearly 1,200 shops and 13,778 drills were conducted by the squad.

Financial Support—The Joint Board of Sanitary Control is financed by contributions of ten dollars a year per shop, which is paid by the three employers' associations and by the contribution of five thousand dollars by the Joint Board of the Cloak, Skirt and Reefer Makers' Unions and twenty-five hundred dollars by the Joint Board of the Dress and Waist Makers' Union [of the International Ladies Garment Workers]. Besides these contributions a tax of ten dollars per shop is made upon all independent manufacturers, those who do not belong to Associations but have individual agreements with the Union. During 1922, 995 of the independent Cloak and Suit manufacturers have contributed, and 386 Dress and Waist manufacturers have

made contribution for the sanitary and fire drill work. Thanks is due to the Unions for their cooperation and assistance in collecting the contributions from the independent manufacturers.

The total amount of contributions from all sources to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in 1922 was \$31,390.00.

PART VII. EXTENDING UNION SERVICES AND INFLUENCES

CHAPTER XXV

UNION SOCIAL INSURANCE

A. Providing for Emergencies and Disabilities Which Accompany Wage Employment.

(Taken from Executive Council Report, A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1914, p. 66)

The majority of wage workers are rapidly learning the importance and practicability of meeting economic emergencies through mutual assistance. Many labor organizations provide trade benefits. These in their nature are not only insurance undertakings but also means of strengthening the cause of trade unionism.

B. Easing the Struggle for Existence.

(Taken from "Our Life Insurance," by E. C. Davison, in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, June, 1924, p. 266)

Students of social and political economy have for years given much thought and consideration to the subject—"The Struggle for Existence."

This is not a meaningless phrase to the producers of this country. In spite of the fact that we are by far the richest country in the world; in spite of the fact that we are in the midst of what is called the great wave of prosperity; nevertheless, the average family of the producers of this country find a real meaning in the words "The Struggle for Existence."

Well do the machinists understand it who were involved in that great struggle with the railroads last year.

Now the primary purpose of labor organizations is to

help man in this struggle for existence. Much as we think we may know of this struggle, we know little or nothing compared to what the men knew who founded the labor organizations and fought the bitter fights for what today are our primary rights. The right of collective bargaining was denied for many long weary years.

The producers have learned that by cooperating they can help themselves very greatly in the matter of hours, wages and working conditions.

This is only one form of cooperative effort, however, by which we can assist each other, and in assisting each other, assist ourselves. In building up a strong financial institution controlled by our own people, providing for our own insurance protection, we accomplish three or four great purposes, but all that these accomplish can be summed up in the statement that they help make the struggle for existence much easier for those who thus cooperate.

This is a great method and means for reducing the struggle for existence; for making life richer and more comfortable; for giving peace of mind and helping to free the minds of our members from worry. Worry wears out more people than work and it seems to me that the future of our labor organizations is certainly leaning to a fuller and broader cooperative effort, which will relieve men more and more of fear and worry.

C. Insurance Indispensable to Successful Unionism.

(Taken from "Our Organization Should Adopt a Death Benefit Plan," in *International Steam Engineer*, May, 1923, p. 288)

At the last meeting of the General Executive Board of our organization, the question of death benefits for the members was discussed at length and it was their opinion that sooner or later it would be absolutely necessary on the part of the organization to adopt and put in force some measure of death benefits.

It may be severe to say that our body has been derelict in this regard; but, whether that be the fact or not, it remains true beyond all dispute that such a measure has become a vital necessity.

The Journal does not overlook any of the many difficulties which beset us in our effort to make the organization

the abiding place of every self-respecting member of the calling. They are manifold. Indeed, the membership will hardly ever know—it can never know as its executive members know—the seriousness of these difficulties. Among them we are obliged to recognize that the absence of death benefits is among the greatest.

Many organizations whose members are not able to command the scale prevailing among engineers have their death benefits. They have in many cases been forced to establish them for the safety of their organizations. A corresponding necessity has long been imposed on us, and it is only the unwillingness to impose additional burdens on the members, who have been so loyal through good and bad fortune, that has withheld such action.

The last General Executive Board meeting directed the General President and General Secretary-Treasurer to investigate this matter and report at the next meeting. It is hoped that some adequate scheme, which will not bear too heavily on the members, can be devised. But, however heavily it may bear upon them, the fact must be faced, sooner or later, that any retrograde movement that appears in or threatens our body is in greatest measure the result of the fact that we have not cultivated that side of union organization which confers on members benefits which, in many cases, they are compelled to go into other organizations to secure.

Any member who will read the last report of the Secretary-Treasurer for the quarter ending January 31, 1923, will see that there have been many more suspensions than should be possible. It is a serious thing for any man to suffer suspension—serious to himself in his calling and serious in its possible effects upon his own and his family's fortunes, if he have a family. These suspensions, in the majority of instances, are not voluntary. They can, too, in the great majority of instances, be avoided, if the proper steps are taken.

Let us but put in active and practical operation anything approaching an adequate death benefit and it must inevitably stop this drain on the membership. This statement is not a case where the wish is father to the thought. It is the unfailing evidence furnished by every organization of labor which has inaugurated such a system. Once an

insurance benefit is adopted, we are quite justified in saying that these suspensions will be reduced to a minimum, as they have been reduced in the case of every other organization.

Let any member run over in his mind the names of say half a dozen of the leading unions in the movement—leading in point of membership, advantages secured to their members and financial resources. He will find after doing so and inquiring for himself that every one of these strong organizations has the death benefits.

It is not probable that a plan can be adopted that will accomplish all that should be accomplished. We must make a beginning somewhere. As time progresses and experience shows us what is best, we can improve on the measure and finally put that system in operation which will be productive of the greatest good at the minimum of expense to the members.

With the progress which the organization is making there is little doubt but if the spirit of the members justify it, the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers will take the place it merits among the leading organizations of the movement in the benefits and advantages which come to us all from our membership. In the meantime, the members are requested to discuss in their Local Union meetings the question of whether our organization should establish death benefits for its members.

D. Kinds of Union Insurance.

(Taken from "Insurance by Unions," reprinted from *Railway Carmen's Journal*, in *Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer*, March, 1910, p. 58)

Discussing trades union insurance in the *Typographical Journal*, Don C. D. Moore presents the following interesting data:

The Cigar Makers' Union is one of the most interesting of all the unions for study in the working of labor union insurance. The union has been in existence since 1864 and began paying sick and death benefits in 1881, and out of work benefits in 1885. The membership of the Cigar Makers' approximates that of the International Typographical Union, or upward of 45,000. In addition to the three forms of insurance,—sick, death, and disability or

out-of-work—the organization provides for strike benefits and maintains a loaning fund for travelling members, which amounted in 1906 to \$50,630.

Applicants who are suffering from any chronic disease or who are more than fifty years of age receive no sick benefits and not more than \$50 death benefits, but they pay only 15 cents weekly dues, or half the regular per capita.

Out-of-Work Benefit—A member who for two years has paid his dues is entitled to receive during unemployment \$3 weekly for six weeks. After an intermission of seven weeks he may again receive the same sum for another six weeks, but not more than \$54 in any one year. The amount paid out in 1906, the latest available figures, was \$23,011, or an average of 60 cents per member per year.

Sick Benefit—A member who has paid his dues for an entire year has the right to receive \$5 weekly during his illness, but not to exceed thirteen weeks. No benefits are paid the first week, and if the sickness is caused by drunkenness or vice no benefit may be drawn. The sick benefits paid in 1906 amounted to \$162,905, or \$3.69 per capita.

Death Benefit—The death benefits are graded according to length of membership. If the deceased has been a member for five years, \$200 is paid, for ten years \$350, and fifteen years \$550. An interesting feature of this part of the system is that if a member be totally disabled, losing, say, his eyesight, or the use of both hands, he receives a lump sum equal to the amount his family would receive in case of his death. The cost of the cigar makers' death and disability benefits during 1906 was \$185,514, or \$4.08 per capita.

The organization has been contemplating the addition to the above of an old age pension feature. The union had on hand at the close of 1906 \$714,506, or about \$16 per capita, which would seem to insure financial stability.

E. Inadequacy of Non-actuarial Insurance.

(Taken from an editorial, "Death Benefits," by George W. Perkins in *Cigar Makers' Official Journal*, August 15, 1923, pp. 9-12)

Figures that follow will give you some idea of the cost to maintain our death benefit system. At the Cleve-

land Convention, 1920, steps were taken that would partially overcome the difficulties we find ourselves in with reference to death benefit laws which were originally placed in our constitution in 1887. Such legislation, however, was not sufficient to meet the requirements.

There were during the three-year period 180 \$350.00 disability claims amounting to \$63,000.00. The average duration of membership was 30 years and a fraction. The average age of the claimants was 67 years. Making allowance for 20c, 25c, 30c, 40c, and 60c dues paid it is placing it high to say that these members paid an average of \$468.00 in dues. We paid each \$350.00 benefit. The collection cost was \$117.00, and we are adding a low average of sick benefit—\$109.00, making a total of \$576.00, or an approximate loss of \$108.00 on each claim paid.

In the three years past we paid in death benefits \$813,401.70, or an average of \$443.75 $\frac{1}{10}$ for each death. It is a liberal allowance to place the average dues paying life at 20 years. In 20 years a member paying 60c dues would pay in \$624.00 in dues. Against this the member would receive according to the average given death benefit \$443.75, sick benefit \$146.00, and the union in percentage \$156.00, making a total \$745.75. Hence under the law of averages we should operate at a loss without considering the strike or out of work privilege amounting to \$121.75 on each death benefit paid.

Assuming that for the next 8 years the dues are on a 60c a week basis, then the 30-year collection for dues would be 20 years past at 30c a week \$312.00, and 10 years at 60c a week \$312.00, making a total of \$624.00. We are liable for total disability benefit \$350.00, percentage of local union \$156.00, sick benefit average (with probable increase) \$154.00, total \$660.00. Thus leaving out of consideration the likelihood of the member's paying part of the time 40c a week, and the possibility of strike or out-of-work benefit we shall still under the law of averages be operating at a loss of \$36.00 per disability benefit paid.

To pay all death and total disability benefits for the year 1922 it cost 18 $\frac{3}{10}$ c per week per member.

The cost rate per member per week rises and falls with the fluctuation in membership. Figured on the cost per

week per member for the past ten years the average was about $13\frac{2}{10}\text{c}$ per member per week.

It must be borne in mind that there is a loss in each class except the old age members, hence we can not equalize the loss by shifting from one group of payments to another. We are paying beyond our means and income based on the specified dues. The total disabilities paid in other cases are not enumerated as these were not enough to draw conclusions from.

As already indicated in my opening remarks, organization is the paramount issue. When we agreed to pay certain benefits we assumed a moral obligation, which we should fulfill if it is possible to do so and without strangling our efforts to fully organize the industry. We shall have discharged our obligations and avoided repudiation of benefits if we shape the laws so that those members now entitled to death benefits shall pay insurance rates predicated upon American actuary figures for these benefits.

To date we have discharged all obligations in the payment of all benefits. Some definite plan should be adopted whereby we can meet the expectations and claims of the older members for death benefits. In view of the changed condition in the industry no one should object to a fair readjustment that will protect and safeguard the rights and interests of present members and meet the requirements necessary to stimulate active enrollment of new members. It has been pointed out in figures that heretofore no one has paid a sufficient rate of dues to meet our insurance obligations. In continuing the payment of death benefit or reinsuring in an insurance company we are justified and within the bounds of honorable dealing in providing that all who elect to continue to participate in the death benefit feature shall pay in addition to the regular dues for economic purposes a premium based upon actuary figures that will meet all our obligations.

F. Trade Union Group Insurance as a First Step.

(Taken from "Machinists' Life Insurance," in *Granite Cutters' Journal*, September, 1921, p. 18)

The group insurance plan of the International Association of Machinists provides to insure every member of the association—male and female—regardless of age or physi-

cal condition and without medical or physical examination whatsoever. Insurance will be in the sum of \$500 on each member, payable immediately at death, or in the event of a permanent total disability, at a cost of 50 cents per month, or \$6 a year, to each member so insured. The amount of insurance can be increased in multiples of \$250 each year until a maximum of \$2,000 is reached, at an increased cost of 25 cents per month per member for each \$250 increase of life insurance.

The plan does not conflict with the union's present death benefits.

"It is gratifying to know," says the *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, "that our association is the first to take active steps to furnish group life insurance to its members. The plan we propose is such an attractive one that other organizations are already taking steps to do likewise."

"It should be understood that the proposed plan is not the ultimate goal, but, as stated by our general executive board in official circular No. 79, 'It can well be made the stepping stone to a realization of what members desired when they voted with such unanimity in favor of inaugurating some plan of life insurance coverage for our membership'."

G. Trade Union Insurance Companies Provide Cheapest and Safest Insurance.

(Taken from Report of the Trustees of the Electrical Workers' Benefit Association, From Date of Organization up to and including June 30, 1923, printed in *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, October, 1923, pp. 565-8)

It is with great pleasure that your trustees and officers, constituting the Supreme Lodge, make this report, because nothing which could be said in words could speak more directly or more eloquently than the actual figures themselves.

In the first place, it secures to every member who maintains his good standing beyond one year, a death benefit reaching a maximum of \$1,000, after five years' continuous good standing.

In the second place, it puts the payment of these death benefits into the hands of the members themselves, and the

entire transaction is handled by their own chosen officers, whose position is that of trustees. This means that the most friendly possible construction of the contract and the law, in the consideration of each and every claim, is given to the beneficiaries of our members.

In the third place, by utilizing the organization already in existence to collect the dues and handle the business of the insurance, it has reduced the expense of providing this life insurance protection to the lowest figure attained by any insurance organization we have been able to discover in the entire United States, whether old-line or fraternal in character, having at all approximately the same number of members and the same amount of outstanding insurance.

In the fourth place, it is a source of strength and gives financial standing to the Brotherhood; stamping the International Brotherhood itself in the eyes of the financial world with that high character and solidity which characterize its membership.

In making this report, we are fortunately dealing with facts and figures, and not with theories only. At the time of the St. Louis Convention, your International Officers came before you with a proposition. It had been carefully considered and worked out, but there were no actual concerns in existence which exactly paralleled our problem.

The convention showed its faith and confidence in the officers of the Brotherhood by voting overwhelmingly in favor of the proposal, and at a subsequent referendum the action of the convention was ratified by the greatest majority ever given any proposition.

We have now before us a practical demonstration of the actual operation and experience of this Benefit Association. The objects achieved, and which must be always maintained, are:

(1) Absolute security and certainty of payment of death benefits.

(2) Low net cost to the membership.

(3) Promptness and liberality in the settlement of claims.

In these three particulars this Association challenges comparison.

We might add a fourth great advantage which has

been accomplished for our members, and that is, ease and convenience in paying for insurance. This is made so easy that no improvement can be suggested, because the member, by paying a slightly increased amount of dues monthly or quarterly, is saved any trouble in the way of making remittances separately for his insurance.

Let us make a comparison with some of the stock, or old-line insurance companies of approximately the same size as that already attained by our Association:

	Capital	Total number of policies	Whole amount insured	Expense of management	Death claims paid
The Beneficial Life of St. Lake City, Utah	\$200,000	19,847	\$28,658,000	\$230,000	\$162,000
The Cleveland Life of Cleveland, O.	250,000	19,901	32,250,000	320,000	165,000
The Detroit Life of Detroit, Mich	150,000	23,057	33,022,000	491,369	134,124
Your Association .....	.....	48,038	27,243,800	27,493	123,625

Let us carry this comparison further and examine the records of some good fraternal associations:

	Benefit Membership	Insurance in Force	Cost of Management	Cost of Management per Member
The Columbia Mutual Life Insurance Society, Memphis, Tenn.	24,039	\$32,450,000	\$119,815	\$5.08
Ancient Order of Cleaners, Detroit, Michigan	64,831	56,601,000	70,032	1.15
Modern Brotherhood of America, Mason City, Iowa	49,685	57,274,000	110,000	2.23
Modern Order of Praetorians, Dallas, Texas	36,604	44,705,000	133,000	3.63
Your Association	48,038	27,243,000	27,493	.58

This shows the enormous saving we are making in handling our own insurance business. The companies and associations above selected are good concerns. They are well managed. They are not selected or given here in any way of criticism, for they are really economically managed insurance concerns, but the comparison shows how very economically your Association is run. It is this great saving in expense which enables us to provide protection for so cheap a figure.

By the charter and by-laws, the expense fund is limited to five cents out of the monthly dues of each member and the admission fees.

During the first year, our expenses were necessarily unusually large, because of the great amount of actuarial and legal expense necessary to organizing, incorporating and launching this Association as a corporate entity. It is the

hope of your officers that as the Association progresses, the expense can be reduced so that a saving even from the very small allowance provided will be made each year, and that this saving can be turned over to the mortuary fund from time to time.

We recently received a letter from one of the most economically managed insurance organizations in the country, wherein the executive head of that company states,—“I am filled with jealous envy because of your expense showing. You are conducting your business at an expense of approximately one-half of the lowest rate we have been able to reach.”

But there is another feature in connection with this Association and its relation to the Brotherhood which our membership should clearly appreciate; that is, that a good proportion of the total rent and total expense for office and clerical outlay at International Headquarters is borne by the Insurance Department, so that low as the insurance expense is, it nevertheless contributes very materially to reducing the expenditure of the Brotherhood for maintenance of headquarters.

Some of our members would provide insurance protection for themselves if we did not maintain this feature, but a large number would not have the insurance protection at all, while those who did secure it would do so at a very high cost.

The great advantage of operating our own business is to be seen if we compare it with what the situation would be if we had made a contract with some life insurance organization to carry this insurance instead of handling it ourselves.

In the first place we could not make a contract for as low a figure as the members now contribute, which would provide anything like the same amount of protection, or give anything like the same liberal provisions.

In case we purchased this insurance from some other organization, the cost or expense of handling the business would be nearly as much as it now costs to operate it for ourselves, and that expense would be clear loss, chargeable against the Brotherhood, instead, as now, becoming a contribution to help reduce our own general expenses.

In the second place, the bonds and assets which we now

own ourselves would be owned by the insurance company, and not by us, and any earnings of interest over the four per cent provided by the law, and which must be actually credited to the Mortuary Fund or Reserve Fund, would be used by such company as its own profits.

These savings amount to many thousands of dollars in the course of comparatively few years.

So much for the economy of management and the low cost of this protection—features of the utmost importance, and which our membership must thoroughly appreciate!

There is one other question which should be clearly put before the general convention at this time: Fear has been expressed by some few of our most conservative or careful members as to whether we could maintain this insurance organization in a perfectly solvent condition, at such a very low cost to the membership.

When these members have compared the cost of this insurance with the cost of ordinary commercial insurance policies which they hold, this question has naturally come to their mind. The officers of the Brotherhood went carefully into this matter before the organization was created, and it is not only the opinion of your officers, but also the opinion of the insurance expert we have employed, that this can be done.

The experience of the association would seem to fully justify this conclusion. The rates we fixed were made after a careful and long study of the membership of the Brotherhood; the death benefits and death rate of our membership during the period of eleven years when the Brotherhood maintained its own death benefit feature; and a study of the mortality tables and experience of many insurance organizations. All of these factors had to be considered in connection with the entirely different circumstances and facts peculiar to this Association.

We have a graded benefit certificate. This is graded according to the continuous good standing of the members, and the uniform rate for all members at all ages. The professional insurance actuaries are, by law and by custom, held to the rates called for by the experience tables recognized by the laws of the different States for the attained age of each member.

The past eighteen months have seemed to show a

heavier death loss than usual with the Association, and yet, in spite of this the financial statement submitted herewith shows how rapidly the assets of this Association are increasing.

We have had the most careful study of the figures made, and the valuation fixed by one of the most competent insurance actuaries of this country, and our membership may feel the most absolute confidence in the security and dependability of this protection which they have provided for their beneficiaries.

H. Insurance an Important Supplementary Activity.

(Taken from Forward by William Green to "Union Insurance," A. F. of L. Pamphlet)

In 1913, the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorized an investigation of the costs of insurance by private companies and the advisability of the Federation's establishing an agency to provide labor insurance on a non-profit basis. Insurance continued a live problem in succeeding years, the Federation serving as the investigating agency.

Trade unions are furnishing members with union benefits but have found restricting limitations in plans not based on actuarial principles. A number of unions have reorganized their benefit systems along the more modern principles of insurance and have found in insurance a strong cohesive force.

The American Federation of Labor was formed primarily to develop the economic strength of the wage-earning men and women of our nation to mobilize the strength, and to improve the standards of living spiritually and economically. The Federation's primary concern is the conservation of labor economic power, but it is also the Federation's duty and privilege to promote the welfare of wage-earners in all possible ways. We regard such supplementary activity as important but we urge that all such undertakings be conducted as supplementary to the trade-union movement and necessary precautions observed to maintain functional perspective.

National and international unions have been pioneers in the field of union benefits to relieve their members of the hazards of occupational calling and union activity. A

number of these unions are now planning to make these benefits more substantial, and in a conference held in Washington, July 21, 1925, adopted the plan published in this pamphlet. An organizing committee was authorized to carry the plan into effect. The report is published for the information and guidance of trade unionists.

CHAPTER XXVI

UNION HEALTH ACTIVITIES

A. Unions Should Safeguard the Health of Members.

(Taken from an editorial, "Trade Union Health Insurance," in *American Federationist*, November, 1916, pp. 1073-4)

Every organization that assumes responsibility for sick and death benefits at once opens up even a larger problem. These benefits can be made less onerous financially by instituting preventive measures, the constructive side, or the prevention of disease. The chief agency for disease prevention is the dissemination of information. All too many of our people are ignorant of the fundamental facts of hygiene and disease prevention. There are in every trade special dangers of life; some of these are inherently a part of the process of production, and others can be readily eliminated by a little planning and forethought or the use of improved devices by employers.

If the workers themselves have sufficient information to make demands upon their employers, they can do much to create conditions that are conducive to good health. If they are sufficiently alert to their own interests to make demands upon public health authorities that these authorities supply them with necessary information as to industrial and physical hygiene, there will be readily available a considerable amount of literature on the subject that will go a long way toward eliminating the present general ignorance.

There is another matter that ought to be seriously considered by local unions. Benevolent employers and many associations interested in general health and hygiene have urged that the various companies employ health experts or company doctors. These men become the agents

of the company, and while they are in a position to perform necessary and benignant work for workers, yet their function can be readily manipulated and made deleterious to the best interests of the wage-earners. It is not necessary to tell wage-earners the relationship that may exist between compulsory physical examination and discrimination in the matter of employment or furnishing reasons for dismissal. But the matter of physical examination of employes is of fundamental importance in informing these employes of incipient disease or physical weakness that may later develop into something serious. Physical examinations occurring at regular periods in addition to disclosing physical weakness, will develop valuable information throwing light upon industrial efficiency and its necessary relationship with good health and sound body, and upon occupational diseases.

The workers should have some kind of medical advice and supervision from health experts. In order to make this institution purely beneficial, the workers, through their trade unions, may employ such expert advice. Several plans are worth consideration. Large local unions could employ their own physician and pay him a fixed sum as a retaining fee, with additional fees in case of sickness of members. These additional fees might be paid by the union or by the individuals as experience would indicate the wiser method. In smaller localities, one physician might be sufficient to serve a local central body. Arrangements might be made with some institution which has the services of the best equipped experts of the country, and because of the great numbers it serves, its benefits secured by individuals at small expense. In some trades in which the dangers to the health of workers are most hazardous, the union has for some time employed its own physician, and has assisted its members in preventing the development of disease. In order to make available to members of trade unions the best information on physical and industrial hygiene, it is recommended that all unions, at regular fixed periods, have their health advisers make talks to the union, giving them specific information upon matters relating to either physical or industrial hygiene. Such advice as this

would go a long way to enlighten wage-earners how to take care of themselves; how to conserve their own bodies and power to produce, and thus enable them to ward off diseases.

B. The Union Health Center.

(Taken from "Worker's Health," in *Union Health Center Journal*, March, 1924, pp. 3, 5)

The Union Health Center is an institution organized by the workers in the women's garment trades in response to a demand by the workers for cooperative medical and dental treatment of their members.

Official investigations and ample statistical data have shown that (1) a very large number of workers suffer annually from illness, estimated about ten days per person or about 50 days per year per family; (2) eight per cent of wage-earners receive a wage of less than two thousand dollars per annum and (3) that it is almost impossible for workers to take care of themselves during periods of illness.

Decent medicine and dentistry are unobtainable in many rural districts and equally unobtainable to workers in urban districts because of the great expense.

The opposition of many interests to compulsory State Health Insurance has weakened the faith of labor organizations in the possibility of State help and has drawn their attention to the need of solving this problem by their own efforts.

The labor movement has greatly neglected the subject of unsanitary conditions of factories and ill health of workers due to them. However, the various investigations into sweat-shop conditions, of home work and of many dangerous trades and occupational diseases, undertaken by Government agencies, have forcibly drawn the attention of the workers to the importance of the health factor in industry.

The Women's Garment Industry was among the first to agitate for industrial self-control in sanitary matters and for the improvement of the health of the workers by an institution of its own.

The Union Health Center is owned by the nine locals or branches of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in New York City.

The locals owning the institutions are as follows: Locals, 1, 3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 22, 23 and 35.

The management of the Union Health Center is in the hands of a Board of Directors composed of representatives of each of the Locals participating in the ownership of the institution.

The purpose of the organization of the Union Health Center is (1) to give information on health matters to the members of the organization; (2) to give physical examination to the candidates for membership in the Locals; and (3) to give examination and treatment to those members needing it.

Only members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are entitled to examination and treatment in the Medical Department. Exceptions to this rule are made only in the Dental Department, at certain times, and in the Physio-Therapeutic Department.

The Union Health Center is the only labor organization owning and managing a Health Center for its members.

The Union Health Center is organized on a self-paying, cooperative basis. While the cost of the building and equipment has been borne by the Locals, the cost of examination and treatment is borne by those who receive such treatment. A fee of One Dollar is charged for all examinations and treatments in the Medical Department and a fee, based on cost, is charged in the Dental and other departments.

The following are the principal activities of the Union Health Center:

Education: The need of prevention in health is emphasized. In response to this need, a Health Information Bureau is established, which gives information on all health questions to those seeking for it. Workers are encouraged to seek information on all subjects of health and disease. Arrangements are made by the Health Center for admission to hospitals, for operative procedure, and for the provision of various appliances, glasses, drugs, bandages, etc., etc.

Examination of Applicants: The local branches of the Union demand a health certificate from candidates for ad-

mission to the Union. A physical examination for this purpose is compulsory for all such candidates. This examination is made at the Union Health Center.

Sick Benefits: Certain Locals have established cash and other benefits for their members during sickness. The examination and certification of members for such benefits is one of the functions of the Union Health Center.

Life Extension: A number of intelligent workers frequently desire a thorough physical examination and a group diagnosis. These are furnished by the Life Extension Branch of the Union Health Center, which examines the member by a number of physicians and gives him the benefit of the results of group diagnosis.

General Examination: During two periods in the day, at the noon hour and in the evening, physicians are to be found at the Center, to give examination, advice and treatment to those who require it.

Special Examination and Treatments: Examination and treatment in a number of medical specialties are given by competent physicians in each specialty.

X-Ray Laboratories, etc.: To facilitate diagnosis as well as to give certain treatment and a chance to the workers for X-ray plates at reasonable rates, an X-ray Department has been established, fully equipped and is doing work at cost rates.

Physio-Therapeutic Department: This Department has been established in order to give the necessary Physio-Therapeutic treatment to workers who are usually unable to get such treatment, which necessitates a very expensive equipment and special supervision.

Drug Store: A Drug Department has been established in conjunction with the Medical Clinic to give drugs and fill prescriptions at nominal rates.

The Dental Department: The Dental Department has been originally organized in response to the recommendation of the U. S. Public Health Service, the physicians of which have found a very large number of dental defects among workers in our trade and imperfect dentistry practiced among most of the workers. The Dental Department, which has been organized since 1917, has shown that it fills a distinct want among the workers and has been very successful.

C. The Union Printers Home and Tuberculosis Sanatorium. (Taken from "Facts Concerning the International Typographical Union Beneficial Features and Other Interesting Data," a pamphlet issued by the International Typographical Union, p. 12; and "Union Printers' Home and Tuberculosis Sanatorium," pp. 28-9)

A feature to which we particularly desire to direct attention as indicating the beneficent character of the International Typographical Union is the Home for Union Printers. This institution is situated at Colorado Springs, Colo., contiguous to Pike's Peak, and in a country enjoying a reputation that is world wide for the salubrity and curative quality of its climate.

The building was erected and furnished in 1892 at a cost of \$70,000, every cent being paid on completion—an almost unprecedented occurrence in the history of benevolent institutions. Not only was it free from debt, but a surplus of over \$13,000 was in bank to the credit of the fund. With the exception of the unsolicited and unconditional gift of \$10,000 to the union from the multi-millionaires, the late George W. Childs, of the Philadelphia Ledger, and Anthony J. Drexel, of the international banking firm of Drexel, Morgan & Co., as an appreciation of the worth of our organization, this building was erected by the efforts of the union printers of America. A hospital annex was erected at a cost of \$40,000 at a late date; then a library addition, laundry and boiler plant, superintendent's cottage, greenhouses, barns, lawns, etc., were added. In 1912 a tuberculosis pavilion, accommodating twenty patients, and costing with furnishings \$10,000, was added to the sanatorium. The Home is situated on 247 acres of land which is rapidly increasing in value. The property is now set down by conservative Colorado real estate men as being worth at least \$1,000,000, an evidence that the Indianapolis Journal was entirely within the truth when it said "the Typographical Union has proven itself equal to every emergency that confronted it during a long and useful career."

The International Typographical Union has expended in twenty-nine years in building and maintaining the Union Printers' Home more than \$3,000,000.

From the opening of the Home in July, 1892, to May 31, 1923, 2,866 applicants have been admitted to the Home. Any member of the International Typographical Union who has been such for ten years, three of which are continuous, is eligible for admission to the Home. Members suffering from tuberculosis are eligible for admission at any time after eighteen months membership. Application for admission to the Home must be made upon forms provided by the trustees, be endorsed by the local union with which the applicant is affiliated, and set forth his physical condition at date of application. If passed upon favorably by the admission committee, a certificate of admission is issued by the secretary of the board, which certificate must be presented to the superintendent by the applicant upon arrival at the Home.

The average number of residents during the fiscal year 1923 was 211.

CHAPTER XXVII

LEGAL INFORMATION SERVICE

A. The Legal Information Bureau of the American Federation of Labor.

(Taken from Report of Executive Council, A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1924, pp. 27-8)

It is evident that the conduct and decisions of the trade unions and the attitude and actions of trade unionists are being subjected more and more to a super critical legal analysis and court definition. As trade unions become stronger, it is quite logical to anticipate that employers will resort more frequently to the courts in defense of what they have come to regard altogether too long as their "vested" rights and "divine" possessions.

The trade unions must meet this change in the form of conflict for equality, justice and right, and develop every possible instrumentality and agency that will enable them to continue their march of progress.

In our report to the Portland convention there was set forth the urgent need for a legal information bureau to meet these changed conditions. Initial steps had then been taken to establish such a bureau in a modest form, and on a basis assuring constant growth and permanency. Under the able direction of Vice-President Matthew Woll substantial progress has been made in this new field of endeavor. A volunteer staff of lawyers familiar with and competent to handle litigation involving industrial relations has been established. It is surprisingly encouraging to have found such a sympathetic and helpful response from this direction. National and international unions, state federations of labor, and central labor unions have cooperated likewise by furnishing this bureau whatever information was solicited or that came to their attention.

The nucleus has been gathered for a comprehensive and useful law library. Advance sheets are being received of all reported decisions of courts of last resort in the several states and in the United States. Cooperating attorneys and officials of trade unions are likewise advising the bureau upon current and pending decisions and issues involved. This method of gathering legal information has enabled the bureau to distinguish carefully those cases in which fundamental principles and rights of the wage-earners are involved, and wherein remedial and helpful legislation is menaced. Accordingly the American Federation of Labor has been able to assist the organizations involved to meet these issues in the most effective and efficient manner possible.

As was indicated in our report a year ago, oftentimes successful legislative results of the trade unions have been annulled or placed in jeopardy because of the employment of inexperienced counsel, untrained in industrial relations affairs. To some extent this situation has been remedied. There is still room for great improvement. It is hoped that with time and further experience this bureau will be able to meet this situation adequately. The service of this bureau has contributed also to a helpful study of labor legislation proposed, pending, or enacted into law. A number of studies are now in the making which will emphasize the importance and the helpfulness of this service.

While it was not and is not intended that this bureau shall furnish counsel or undertake the defense of any trade union involved in legal difficulties, nevertheless, valuable and helpful information and practical advice have been given to affiliated organizations in a number of instances.

The legal information gathered by the bureau has been carefully reviewed, tabulated and much of it disseminated to all helpful and interested groups and persons. The bureau has published and distributed from time to time a legal information bulletin containing the latest decisions of the more important labor cases rendered by courts of last resort. Seven numbers of this bulletin have been issued during the past year, each number containing approximately eight decisions. This bulletin is distributed to the presidents and secretaries of the affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, central bodies,

salaried organizers, labor publications, libraries and other institutions requested them. That this service is of practical value is demonstrated in the constantly increasing demand being made for it.

The legal information bureau has passed the stage of experimentation; it has demonstrated its practicability and great helpfulness. The Executive Council is alert to the importance of this work and of the opportunities that continually present themselves for further improvement. It is the purpose to enlarge the service with time and experience, consistent with the original designs of its creation and in keeping with all other demands made upon the American Federation of Labor.

For that which has been achieved, and to those having made that success possible, the Executive Council expresses appreciation. The sincere hope is voiced that this cooperation may be not only continued, but be enlarged upon during the coming year. Every possible encouragement and added support are solicited. It is only through cooperation and constant vigilance that the proper and efficient defense may be presented whenever and wherever the rights of labor and the fruits of labor's struggles are challenged in the courts, whether in their law or equity divisions.

B. The Building and Allied Trades Compensation Service Bureau.

(Taken from Report of Committee on Workmen's Compensation, Thomas J. Curtis, Chairman, *New York State Federation of Labor Proceedings*, 1923, pp. 45-6)

About two years ago the Building and Allied Trades Compensation Service Bureau was established in the City of New York, at the request of numerous labor unions in the city. It was the privilege of your Chairman, to be designated as Manager of that Bureau. This Bureau has served Labor for two years, and in its first year it collected \$750,000 for injured workmen, and in its second, over one million. This Bureau is the first of its kind, and has rendered a splendid service to the injured workmen, obtaining the maximum amount of compensation for each injured workman.

This Bureau works on a distinctly democratic basis,

controlled by a Board of Directors elected by the duly designated representatives of the affiliated locals. Its management and its financial and other affairs are directly under the control of the affiliated locals, through their representatives. The purpose of the Bureau, is to represent men at the hearings of the Compensation Commission, and to assist them in the filing of the necessary papers, and the sending of proper and adequate notices, and giving them advice and assistance in all matters relating to compensation, and above all obtaining the maximum amount of compensation for them.

This Bureau has affiliated with it over eighty local unions, in the city of New York. Beside the actual work of representing the injured workmen, this Bureau has undertaken an extensive educational campaign, instructing and advising men as to their rights under the Workmen's Compensation Law.

This Bureau has recently added a Legal Department to it, under the management of a competent attorney, who is well known in labor circles, for the purpose of rendering legal assistance to the members of affiliated locals. The Bureau also contemplates the establishment of a Medical Department to look after the physical end of the work, and thus further assist the members of its affiliated locals. Your Chairman calls special attention to this Bureau known as the Building and Allied Trades Compensation Service Bureau of the city of New York and vicinity, as it has demonstrated its practical value to Labor, and has become a vital part of the labor movement. Many requests have come to this Committee for the establishment of similar bureaus throughout the State.

The work of this Bureau has been very vital and beneficial as is indicated by the attention it has attracted throughout the State. The Executive Council of this body took up the question of the development of state-wide Compensation Service Bureaus. They adopted a plan on Compensation Service Bureaus. The objection to the plan adopted by the Executive Council was that it did not provide for a democratic form of government, and did not provide for the establishment of Compensation Service Bureaus of local character.

The question of Compensation Service Bureaus has

been discussed by almost every local union in this State, and your Chairman desires to call attention of the delegates of this Convention to the report of the Committee on Compensation of the Central Trades and Labor Council, dated July 19, 1923:

"At the meeting of April 5, 1923, a communication was received from the Central Trades and Labor Council of Syracuse which was referred to your Committee for study and report.

"We desire to submit the following:

"We are opposed to any individual looking after injured workmen or any bureau not under direct control of the union in the locality of the Central Trades jurisdiction under which the local union or union member may come.

"We believe that each locality should establish a Compensation Bureau with a competent representative who, from experience understands the spirit, routine, and intent of the law, with the proviso that there be at various times conferences of representatives of each locality from the various bureaus for the purpose of exchanging thoughts and working out a program of compensation for industrial accident with the end in view of recommending such amendments of course, conceived from experience with certain groups of cases.

"The conferences to be under the direction and auspices of the New York State Federation of Labor.

"We further believe and recommend that while it may be wise for the State Federation of Labor to establish a Committee on Compensation to collect information, to compile experience and to follow out other encroaching actions of the Courts of Equity with the Workmen's Compensation field; that it would be unwise for a single State Bureau to be established with control of the machinery of appearances, except in localities where Central Bodies do not exist, we hold to the idea that the secretary of the local union be educated to the spirit and life of the law in order that the rights of the average member of the union may be better conserved and the original intent of the Workmen's Compensation Law to ameliorate the temporary embarrassments and the future care of the victim of industrial accidents be carried out to its logical conclusion."

Your Chairman also wishes to call the attention of the

delegates to a resolution recently adopted by the N. Y. State Council of Carpenters in convention assembled at Saranac Lake, on August 16th. This body unanimously indorsed the Building and Allied Trades Compensation Service Bureau of Greater New York and vicinity and recommended the affiliations of all labor unions in the city with this Bureau, and also recommended the establishment of similar democratic Local Bureaus through the State.

This Committee, therefore, recommends that the State Federation of Labor assist in the establishment of such Bureaus with the distinct understanding that such Bureaus be democratic in form, local in character and controlled and directly responsible to the affiliated local unions and this Committee further recommends that upon the establishment of such Compensation Service Bureaus in each of the industrial centers of this State, that the said Bureaus, meet in convention through their duly authorized representatives one day before the State Federation of Labor holds its convention; that the recommendations and mutual experiences of the representatives of the affiliated locals, be submitted to this Body in convention. Through such united action greater service may be rendered to injured workmen and to labor at large.

CHAPTER XXVIII

WORKERS' EDUCATION

- A. The Rôle of Workers' Education in the Labor Movement.
(Taken from "Education is Labor's Need," by Fannia M. Cohn, in *Justice*, June 30, 1922, p. 10; also in *Federation News Letter*, July 19, 1924)

The world is tired of the events of the last generation and especially of the calamity that has befallen mankind in the last ten years. Tens of millions of human beings are crushed by our present-day industrial and social organization. A desperate outcry is heard from many parts of the globe from men, women, and children who can not any longer endure the burden imposed upon them by our present industrial civilization. The human mind is in search of a solution of its problems, conscious of the fact that man is the creator and the supporter of the social institutions and that when these institutions outlive themselves it is within his power to change them to meet new conditions.

Social forces that mold our economic and political institutions are always in play. The workers begin to realize that there are great social forces in process now that tend to change our form of society, and the question arises in the minds of many which group is destined to direct these social forces.

Millions of men and women of the working class and of the professional groups look toward the organized labor movement as the agency destined to bring about this great historic change, and all realize that the first essential thing to the accomplishment of this change is that the group that is to play the most important part be prepared morally and intellectually for this historic mission. And the unconscious thought in the minds of many is: "Are the workers, through their unions, prepared to assume this great

historical mission?" The answer is, the movement for workers' education within the trade unions of our country.

The movement for workers' education is based on the conception that education was always the greatest influence in our lives. Many realize that the object of our educational system, at present, is to adjust the individual to the environment with a view to perpetuating our social structure as it is, with all its destructive influences.

But the object of workers' education is rather to adjust the environment to the needs of modern life.

The aim of the workers' educational movement is to encourage the worker to begin now to prepare for the great task of transforming our social structure on a more just basis through manifold activities within his own trade union, in the economic, cooperative, political, research, and educational fields. Those who are active in the workers' educational movement are convinced that through such activities the labor movement will develop the necessary leadership from within its own ranks.

B. Law of Self-Preservation Dictates That Unions Educate Members.

(Taken from "The Need of Education," in *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, January, 1922, p. 25)

It was momentous that the President proclaimed the week of December 4th to 10th as Education Week. It would be of still greater and immeasurable moment were the members of Labor to directly appropriate to education a little time one night a week during the new year. There is much for all of us to learn. As long as we are not too old to play, we are not too old to learn.

In their youth, the great mass of the workers receive an education which is but elementary—like reading, writing, arithmetic and a bit of history. As we grow older, we desire—our needs demand—a social and industrial education. We want to, and must know the things about which the ordinary school does not teach us.

For some time there has been a nation-wide move to deny in numerous ways full education by subsidizing or regulating it out of existence. And as time passes, it is realized that education is one of the most, if not the most

fundamental issue confronting the labor movement; and that its hope lies in the increasing intelligence of its membership.

We must be broad enough to realize that within our ranks there exists a vast amount of ignorance—ignorance of the everyday problems with which the officials and members of the organizations are constantly grappling—ignorance of the struggle we are in and how to deal with it in an intelligent and practical way.

This ignorance among ourselves must be fought before we can successfully combat the aggressions of unscrupulous employers. And it is freely admitted that the abuse to which the workers are now subject would not be attempted by the majority of their foes were the scales of education more equally balanced.

The point has been reached where the law of self-preservation now dictates that the trade union make the education of its members a part of its daily routine. When being first founded, the little education it requires comes easily and naturally. A discussion of the needs of the unorganized workers, is sufficient. But after organization has been established, a new kind of education is required—the education that goes with responsibility.

To merely organize is not enough. This is in itself not the end. If contented with that and no effort is made towards a higher elevation, we simply confine ourselves within the commodity and wage status. While organization is power, education will equip the workers to use this power intelligently and effectively. Education is the basis of permanent and responsible organization.

Labor needs education,—not the sort which will teach correct grammar—cultural education while refining is out of the question and requires much seasoning to make it palatable—it needs labor and a social education; the kind which can not be taught in childhood and which can be taught only in mature minds. That for the worker is as important as a medical education for a practicing physician.

The workers need to know the relation of the industry they are engaged in, not only to the labor movement, but to society at large, and the place it occupies in our economic structure. They need an understanding of the social

forces at work which caused the formation of the labor movement—an understanding that it deals not alone with theories but mainly with facts and conditions—an understanding of the problems that it, and it alone, must solve.

Unfortunately, most of those who are highly successful teachers of children or college students, can not meet the needs of the workers for education. They are either ignorant of the true life of the latter or they approach the work in a condescending academic way. And as a general rule the institutions of learning, outside of the labor movement are of two kinds; those who attempt to give the workers education in a patronizing spirit, and those that wilfully seek to mislead and misinform.

The needed education will not and can not be successfully applied from the outside or from above. It must be provided by the organizations of labor themselves; and in this task they should avail themselves of the knowledge which conscientious men of learning are willing to place at their disposal.

Organizing for the worker's education should be made an integral part of the union movement. It is inevitable that the organizations of labor will establish on a National and International basis their own educational and research bureaus, as they have in many industries; and it is felt we can reasonably look forward to the day when the American Federation of Labor will erect a workers' university to whose halls wealth will not be a passport.

Some concept of the amount of education received by the mass of workers in their youth has been gained by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. A study in the industrial centers, disclosed that more than 75 per cent of the children leave school before reaching the Seventh Grade. The report of the Census Bureau shows there are 4,931,000 people over 10 years of age in America unable to read or write. Army tests revealed that twenty-nine per cent of all men called in the draft could not read or write and that more than seventy of every one hundred possessed the intelligence only of a twelve year old child.

It is an undisputed fact that only fourteen out of every one thousand have an opportunity to acquire a college education. All too often these fourteen men are taught to be

cunning and to take advantage of the other 986. These college trained men for the greater part, fill our pulpits, edit our papers, and magazines, fill our executive positions, and generally are members of our law-making bodies; and because of training and environment, are with few exceptions opposed to the interests of the masses.

The Trade Union is a protest against—is a challenge of these conditions. It is compelled to realize that it has an educational interest of its own. And its members must not think that because they have been taken out of school they have to cease all efforts for knowledge.

Where labor classes or schools are already formed—as is now true in many towns and cities in the United States—our locals should strive to have as many of their members as possible enroll as students. Where these have not been formed, the locals should urge of and cooperate with the local, central and state labor bodies in establishing them.

These classes or schools, which operate at little cost, must not be propagandist institutions, nor spread any particular dogma, but must give those interested a chance to ground themselves in the fundamentals of industrial psychology and economics, as it relates to sound practice and theory.

In addition every local—and this practice is now followed by many organizations—should devote at least thirty minutes of each meeting to the subject of education. They should appoint an Educational Committee to arrange for reading matter; and as the majority of workers prefer to learn by means of lecture, good speakers are essential.

Unenlightenment is not so discouraging as mental laziness. Most adults shun mental effort as the fat hog shuns physical effort. Many people protest vigorously against anything that disturbs their mental repose. It is so much easier to sit and listen, and then criticise, than to think out answers to questions.

While it is encouraging to listen to lectures, as they call up in the mind illustrations, confirmations, and objections in more effective ways than book information can provide—but we should not end there. One can not reach the heart

of a question by listening to another. We must make investigations for ourselves.

We should feel gratified if only the more vigorous and serious minded can be roused, no matter how small the number. Better a handful of thinkers, even slow, clumsy, and deliberate thinkers, than a multitude of believers who only think that they are thinking. Even this small group can be trusted to exert a moral influence over and share the information and knowledge they acquire with their fellows. Their advice will be gladly listened to and accepted by the others. In most all cases they steer the others safely over the shoals.

The informed, thinking members of the Trade Union will be among its successful leaders. He or she is more precious than their weight in gold. The organization that avails itself of education will succeed permanently. The one that ignores it does so at its own peril.

C. Workers' Education is an Articulate Expression of the Labor Movement.

(Taken from "The Promise of Workers' Education," an address by Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary, Workers Education Bureau of America, before Forty-third Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., October 2, 1923, reprinted in a *Workers Education Bureau pamphlet*)

It is sometimes asked, Why Workers' Education? By others it is asserted that the interest of workers in education tends to narrow the concept of education to special and particular ends. If I understand the purposes that underlie the labor movement and the educational aspirations of working people, they want nothing less than the finest and fullest and most inclusive education. They believe in the democratization and extension of culture, in education for all.

But the workers have a very special interest in education. They look out upon the world as craftsmen as well as citizens. And they see the world as craftsmen just as any other professional group, whether they be doctors, engineers, farmers, or the like. Furthermore, the average worker has long since recognized that organization does not

exist for its own sake. It must enhance his life as a worker, as an individual, and as a member of the community. By its economic and social function a labor organization becomes worthy of the loyalty of the worker.

There are, thus, problems within as well as without the labor movement which require education for their wise solution. The world can not be reordered and reconstructed until one's own household is set right. There are problems of growth and function to which labor everywhere must give its attention. Wage negotiations, trade agreements, a labor press, labor banks, cooperative societies and labor research are matters which suggest some of the present problems, as well as the growing service of labor to the community without and the membership within. Yet even these services must be made plain so that labor understands full well, for example, the responsibilities of a press to the public, a bank to its depositors, and a cooperative society to its members.

It would be unnecessary to emphasize again to the delegates to this convention that workers' education is an expression of and rests upon the labor movement. If we had had no labor movement we would have had no workers' education, and if we had no education of the worker we should have no great movement of labor. So I shall ask you to think of workers' education not as something added on to the labor movement, but a quality which emerges out of those deeper purposes of the movement. It was this conviction on the part of your own Committee on Education and your own Executive Council which led to the development of the organic relationship of the Workers Education Bureau of America with your Federation. It was, I repeat, the firm conviction that Workers' Education was an expression of the cultural and humanistic purposes of the labor movement—the outward manifestation of an inner impulse—which brought first persuasion, then unqualified support to this program.

These deeper purposes of the labor movement, I fear, we sometimes lose sight of in the business of administration of a great organization of men. The every-day task, the immediate problem, sometimes obscures the more subtle and permanent underlying ideals. It is the privilege of such conventions as these to renew our faith as well as our

friendships. I shall not ask your indulgence for considering these ideals as I purpose to establish that fundamentally the cultural aims of labor and of education are one—that as both are concerned with the development of the fullness of man's stature, they have a common goal.

No one would, I suppose, urge that the appeal of wages and hours has been the motivating ideal of American labor. As goals they are both inadequate and insufficient. They do not even touch the mainsprings of men's action. The labor movement can't live on wages and hours. Nor is it probable that any great movement of the people could be sustained on the mere satisfaction of material needs. Only this year your Executive Council has given expression to what it holds to be the essential religious impulses at the heart of the movement and has urged central labor bodies throughout the country, following Labor Day, "to organize a labor week or series of meetings which shall be addressed by representatives of labor, who shall give voice to the religion that is in the American labor movement, speaking out of the religious heart and soul of the associated workers of America entirely apart from any ecclesiastical or denominational auspices of association, without antagonism to any." Have you not in your proclamation said, "The labor movement fixes as its goal nothing less than the complete richness of life, without limitation of any kind, the attainment of the complete ideal, in all its economic, ethical and spiritual implications"? Labor requires fundamentally not a fuller pay envelope, but fuller opportunities. Labor seeks not a living, but a life. But these aims are, I assert, the high aims of education and correspond to human aspiration whenever it is nobly expressed.

D. Workers' Education Must be Directed by the Labor Movement.

(Taken from "Labor Day Reflections—the Aim of Workers' Education," by James H. Maurer, in *Workers' Education Quarterly*, August, 1924, p. 6)

The organized Labor Movement is now more than ever asserting itself. It demands its place in our social structure. It is no longer satisfied with mere crumbs, but it challenges the employing class for a proper share of the wealth of the

nations. It is also conscious of the fact that this imposes upon the Trade Unions a great responsibility in the conduct of our economic and social institutions, and realizes that it must prepare itself for that function—hence the movement for workers' education. It realizes, too, that if workers' education is to serve the Labor Movement it must be under its own direction.

The Labor Movement must beware of accepting the educational ideal which is presented to it by the employing classes—the ideal of education as a means to a means and not a means to an end. The employing classes think of education of the workers as a means to efficiency. Theirs is the policy that the needs of commerce and industry have precedence over the needs of citizenship. They hold the opinion that it is not possible to provide the mass of people with the social development which they demand for themselves and their children.

The workers want not simply more education but education and educators of a very different sort. It is a new spirit that the Workers' Education Movement is aiming at. It is education that shall stimulate the individual and the group to serve the Labor Movement in particular and society in general, and not education to be used for selfish personal advancement. Our educational system tends to justify the evils that have accumulated in our present industrial and social society, but Workers' Education under Trade Union auspices strives to eradicate the existing evils.

It behooves us on Labor Day when the workers of the United States are demonstrating their solidarity as an organized body and strengthening their determination to use their collective strength to enrich their own lives and that of their families to take notice of the Workers' Education Movement which is steadily gaining recognition on the part of the Trade Union Movement. On this day, more than ever, we take pride in the fact that the Workers' Education Movement was initiated and is carried on in this country by the American Trade Union Movement. On this day—Labor Day—we should pledge ourselves to make the Workers' Education Movement an instrument which shall serve the Labor Movement as well as the individual workers.

E. The Workers Education Bureau.

(Taken from "The Workers Education Bureau—Its Functions." by H. L. Brunson, Field Secretary, Workers Education Bureau, in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, April, 1924, pp. 180-1)

In the March issue of the Journal, an effort was made to give to the members an idea of what workers' education is. This article will treat more directly with the Workers Education Bureau; attempt to explain some of its functions and to point out some of the reasons why the members of our organization, and the members of other unions as well, should affiliate directly with the Bureau.

The Workers Education Bureau had its humble birth in the city of New York in April, 1921. The Bureau was not born "with a silver spoon in its mouth." In fact, it did not have even a copper in "its treasury." Just a few—a very few—earnest people came together to discuss and consider the possibilities of helping the workers to improve themselves. This small group possessed the vision and energy necessary to overcome lack of funds and equipment. With stout hearts they bravely faced the tasks of providing suitable educational materials and facilities, such as would be within reach of the workers, and of interesting the men and women of labor in the possibilities of self-education through the use of these means. There were here and there throughout the country scattered efforts and undertakings, some of which were making encouraging progress, but there was no coordination such as only a Central Bureau could provide. Some of the national unions were encouraging educational activities among their members, and a few had rather definite programs under way, but the Labor Movement of the country had no general program for assisting the workers educationally. How the Workers Education Bureau has changed the situation and what it promises for the future may be seen by briefly reviewing the gradual but steady and continuous progress which has been made.

Progress—First, after the preliminary steps of organizing, the Bureau sought the interest and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor. This was readily obtained and a cooperative relationship was worked out between the

Bureau and the Educational Committee of the American Federation of Labor. Later the Bureau was fully endorsed by a convention of the American Federation of Labor and now the Standing Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor is an integral part of the Executive Committee of the Workers Education Bureau of America, so that very much more than a cooperative arrangement now exists between the Labor Movement and the Workers Education Bureau.

At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Portland, Ore., during October of last year, the work of the Bureau was highly commended, and certain recommendations were made by the Convention to the International and National Unions and other bodies and groups subordinate to the parent bodies. Outstanding among these recommendations is the appeal to affiliate with and support the Workers Education Movement. The report of the committee, which was unanimously adopted by the convention, is as follows:

Report of Committee on Education—On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee most heartily commends the permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council on successfully concluding the negotiations with the Workers Education Bureau of America. It is a matter of great moment to the future of the working people of our country to have an established and recognized educational agency or bureau through which to secure guidance and counsel in the direction of their efforts at self-education. By the articles of agreement the American Federation of Labor forms an integral and organic part of this bureau.

It is the deliberate opinion of your Committee that one of the most important matters before this Forty-third Annual Convention and before the American labor movement today is adult workers' education. It conditions in a most vital way the future character and direction of the labor movement. For the adult worker it is an indispensable aspect of democratic citizenship and should, therefore,

be universal. It should enlist the united support of organized labor throughout our country.

The Workers Education Bureau has developed certain well-defined educational services which it is prepared to place at the disposal of the working people of this country at a nominal service charge. It can and will assist local groups in the organization of study classes, in the preparation of courses of study, in the designation of proper and well-trained teachers, and in the selection of adequate textbooks and syllabi. A field secretary has been added to the staff to assist local groups in the organization of colleges and study classes. In addition, it is prepared to conduct correspondence courses for adult workers and place at their disposal a library loan service. An editorial committee has in active preparation a modern series of books written for adult workers in the social sciences, literature and the natural sciences.

Your Committee wishes to call especial attention to the fact that the principles of local autonomy and group responsibility and the voluntary nature of adult education are the principles upon which the American Labor movement rests, and commend this adult workers' education movement particularly to the American worker. In view of the outstanding importance of this movement to the working people of our country, your Committee recommends to this convention the following specific proposals:

1. That we recommend to the workers of this country, through the channels provided for them by the American Federation of Labor, the establishment of study classes for the free and impartial study of such problems as are of interest to them, and that they avail themselves of the educational advice of the Workers Education Bureau in the organization and conduct of such classes.

2. That we recommend that each State Federation of Labor establish a permanent educational department and provide an educational director to cooperate actively with the Workers Education Bureau in providing adequately for the educational needs of the organized workers in every State in the United States.

3. That we recommend that the National and International Unions, City Central Bodies and other affiliated

organizations appoint permanent educational committees to cooperate fully in the development of this movement; and we further recommend that these organizations undertake active affiliation with the Workers Education Bureau.

And we further recommend that a copy of these recommendations, with a copy of the address of the spokesman of the Workers Education Bureau, before the Forty-third Annual Convention, be transmitted by the President of the American Federation of Labor, in cooperation with the permanent Committee on Education, to all the National and International Unions and State Federations of Labor.

In addition to commending the activities of the Bureau and recommending affiliation with it, the report of the Convention Committee on Education sets forth in general terms the principal functions of the Bureau. It may be well, however, to add and to emphasize that the Bureau does not advocate or promote any particular kind or type of education. It attempts to supply the needed assistance to each and every group in pursuing their chosen studies; suggesting and providing at reasonable costs suitable textbooks, and giving information about available teachers and class leaders in the various localities.

The appeal of the American Federation of Labor for affiliation with, and support of, the Bureau has not fallen upon deaf ears. To the contrary, the response has been highly encouraging and most remarkable. Thirty-seven international and national unions, representing more than 60 per cent of the affiliated membership of the American Federation of Labor, have sent in their affiliations and are now in active cooperation with the Bureau in promoting Workers Education. A dozen more which have the matter now under consideration have expressed such interest as to justify the expectation that they will join in support of the movement. Approximately 125 colleges and study classes are now functioning in the various cities throughout the country, and others are being started. Most notable are those endeavors in some of the larger cities, such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Kansas City, Denver, Colorado Springs, Minneapolis, and Portland, Ore. Some of the state federations have established Workers' Education Departments, with full time di-

rectors to develop the work. In Pennsylvania and Colorado this plan has proved to be the proper procedure, which will probably become generally used wherever funds are available for the purpose. In a word, Workers' Education is a success; but there is much more to be done. All of the workers who crave education and need it do not live in the larger cities in which the classes have been started. Many of those who have time and desire to study and improve themselves live in small cities, towns and communities. Many of the machinists and other shopmen are employed at "round-house points." With some of these facts in mind, the Bureau has planned to make its services available to every individual worker who chooses to avail himself of them, and an invitation is hereby extended through the columns of our Journal to every member to enroll with the Workers Education Bureau as an Associate Member.

Remember that, although you may not be the possessor of a brain which harbors genius, still you may make it more useful to yourself and others through study. There is no easy road to learning; you must apply yourself to the worthy task if you would succeed. Others can only help you. This the Bureau offers and is anxious to do. The rest is up to you, Brother Machinist.

F. Workers Education Bureau as an arm of American Federation of Labor.

(Remarks by President William Green, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1925, pp. 286-287.)

I regard the work of the Workers Education Bureau as highly important. We must rely upon education in a very large measure for the advancement and development of our great movement. We must, through education carry the message of organized labor to the members of organized labor. It must be carried through a Department of Education, under the control, guidance and authority of the American Federation of Labor. This department might well be regarded as an arm of our great movement, and we want to make that arm strong, we want to strengthen it through affiliation of all national and international unions, State and central bodies, in the Workers Education Bureau.

G. The Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

(Taken from Report of Educational Activities, 1922-1924, pamphlet issued by the Educational Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, pp. 4-13)

Character of Our Education—In deciding upon the character of the instruction to be given for our groups, the Educational Committee had to adopt a definite policy. Our courses could be filled mainly with propaganda, but we decided that this is unnecessary. We know that our members participated in the numerous struggles of our organization and have learned from bitter experience that the existing economic system is unsatisfactory and should be improved and changed.

Our members stand, consciously or unconsciously, for the reconstruction of society, and they strive toward a new life. They dream of a world where economic and social justice shall prevail, where the welfare of mankind will be the aim of all activity, where society will be organized as a cooperative commonwealth, where love, friendship and fellowship will replace selfishness. To attain this end, we thought it necessary not merely to accumulate knowledge for its own sake, but that the subjects for study in workers' classes must be selected with the definite object of giving our members the mental and moral equipment which will best enable them to be useful not only to their own union, but also to the Labor movement and to society as a whole, and which will inspire them to disinterested service to the Labor movement. To give such service, our members must receive the kind of education which will strengthen and broaden character, develop discrimination and create in them the ability to form sound judgments.

We felt that the best way to accomplish this is to give our members a body of information and incontrovertible facts, which they can utilize in their economic and political activities and with whose assistance they can interpret these correctly.

In accordance with this policy, our curriculum consists mainly of courses in history, economics, trade unionism,

etc. These are presented in such a way as to show how the present economic order is organized and how it works.

That this policy is sound is shown by the fact that it has gained the approval and confidence of all who attend our classes. No matter what their particular personal economic or political beliefs are, they receive our instruction with confidence.

Our Activities—During the past two years, the Educational Department continued and expanded its previous activities. As you know, our Educational Department was organized in accordance with a decision of the 1916 Convention of the I. L. G. W. U., which appropriated \$5,000 a year. The Convention of 1918 increased the appropriation to \$10,000 annually. In 1920, the Convention again granted \$15,000 a year, and the last Convention of 1922, appropriated \$17,500 a year.

1. *Workers' University*—As in the past, our Workers' University was conducted in the Washington Irving School in New York and the I. L. G. W. U. Building. Classes for advanced students were held in Economics and Trade Union Problems, Applied Psychology, Social Psychology, Literature and Social History.

2. *Unity Centers*—Unity centers in public school buildings in New York City were conducted as before in Bronx, Manhattan and Brooklyn.

Subjects—In each Unity Center, we carried on various activities; educational, health and social. Our members meet there from four to five nights a week.

Our International arranged independently courses on History of Civilization, Literature, Industrial and Trade Union History with Special Reference to the I. L. G. W. U., Economics and the Labor Movement, Economic Institutions, Applied Psychology, History of the United States, Understanding of Music, etc.

English—Since most of our members are of foreign birth, it is natural that English should occupy a very important place in our educational plan. In each Unity Center there are classes in English of elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school grade, all organized exclusively for our members. The teachers for English and physical training were assigned by the Evening School Department of the Board of Education.

Health Education—One evening a week in each Unity Center was devoted to Health. For one hour a lecture on health topics which concern the home and factory life of the workers was given by prominent physicians.

3. *Extension Division*—In the past two years we have developed our Extension Division so as to reach a larger number of our members. This was done in the following way:

(a) Courses and classes were held in different languages, English, Yiddish, Russian and Polish.

(b) Lecturers were sent to business meetings of local unions, where they discussed Labor and social problems.

(c) Forums were held in different parts of New York and other cities. Prominent speakers, among them President Sigman, addressed the audiences on important Labor problems.

(d) Classes and courses were conducted for shop chairmen and executive members on problems of special interest to each group.

We consider this a very valuable activity, because of the important position they occupy in our Union.

(e) Small classes and round table discussions for business agents of our unions have been organized and conducted successfully. These officers are important factors in our union, and should receive authoritative information on matters of importance to the Labor movement. In each case, we engaged instructors who are authorities in their respective fields. They met the business agents in groups, and conducted intensive discussions of many important labor problems.

Management—The planning of our educational activities is entrusted to the Educational Committee which consists of five vice-presidents. In formulating the policy of our educational activities, the Committee is guided by the instructions of the previous Convention as formulated in the report of the Committee on Education.

While retaining for itself the planning of the educational activities the committee leaves the administration to the Educational Department.

Democracy in Our Education—To guard against an over-centralization of educational control, we have estab-

lished a Permanent Joint Conference of the educational committees of our local unions. This conference meets from time to time with the Educational Committee. It renders valuable service in helping us to keep in touch with the locals and in passing on suggestions from the rank and file.

Students' Councils—In each Unity Center, the students elect two members from every class to serve on a Students' Council. In our Workers' University, the students' councils, besides aiding the Educational Department to keep in touch with the classes, select three of their number to sit with the Executive Committee of the Faculty. This group considers the problems of each Unity Center and of the Workers' University and passes upon the curriculum. The Students' Councils also arrange social affairs which make it possible for students and teachers to become fully acquainted with each other.

Visits were made to the galleries of the Museum of Art and Natural History where talks were given by lecturers.

The Students' Council, with the assistance of the Educational Department, also arranged excursions, hikes and outings during the summer months.

The hikes have always been most interesting. Many of our members belong to different local unions and do not know each other. At the hikes they become acquainted, make friends with each other and spend a few hours a week in sociability and good fellowship, called forth and influenced by beautiful surroundings. It is needless to emphasize the importance of this open air recreation to our members, who spend most of their working time indoors.

Our Instructors and Lecturers—Our faculty consists of men and women of the highest professional rank. They are interested in workers' education and contribute to it. Our Educational Department assisted these teachers to prepare their work, acquainted them with the interests, problems and background of our members, with the problems of the Labor movement and of the I. L. G. W. U., and suggested methods of presentation which appeal most effectively to our people.

In the words of a well known teacher, our Educational

Department did more than any other agency to bring the intellectual proletariat of this country, the teachers, closer to the Labor movement.

Our teachers have a thorough knowledge of the Labor movement and the problems which it must solve, and they realize that this movement deals not merely with theories, but mainly with facts and conditions.

Outlines—Our students have been aided greatly by the outlines distributed with each lesson. These were prepared carefully by the instructors and contained a summary of the entire lesson. At the end of the season, these outlines constitute a syllabus or condensed textbook, which our members can use for further reference and study.

These outlines are the basis for our publications of which Prof. Carman's "Outline of American History" was the first. We permitted the Workers Education Bureau to reprint this outline and supply it to other American Labor schools which are in need of help and guidance.

History of the I. L. G. W. U.—During the past two years special emphasis was placed in our classes on our own International Union. A special outline was prepared by Mr. Max Levin dealing with its history, aims, problems, policy and structure. Now that a history of the International is about to be published, our classes will use it extensively in their studies, our members will become more interested in its past and will realize the tremendous importance of their organization in the history of the Labor movement in America.

In our classes on Labor Problems, after preparing the course, the instructors stressed carefully the aims, problems and tactics of the Labor movement with special reference to the I. L. G. W. U. They aimed to stimulate in our members an interest in the Labor movement. Prior to the opening of our bank, special discussions were prepared by the instructors in our Unity Centers and Workers' University on "Why Trade Unions Own Banks," and an attempt was made to explain in simple language the mechanism of the management and control that the State exercises over modern banks.

Publications—We take great pride in reporting the publication of the first series of outlines of lessons given

under the auspices of the Educational Department. The "Outline of the Social and Political History of the United States," by Prof. Carman, has met with great success and praise from many authorities. It is the result of Prof. Carman's experience in our Workers' University and is the first publication of its kind. It is a distinct contribution to the development of Labor education. Outlines on "Trade Union Policies," by David J. Saposs, "Economics and Labor," by Sylvia Kopald, and "Social Institutions," by Arthur W. Calhoun, will appear in "Justice" and will be published in pamphlet form.

Publicity—The work of the Educational Department was made effective by the publicity afforded by the Labor press. The educational page in our own "Justice," "Gerechtigkeit" and "Giustizia" reached our membership. The Yiddish and English Labor dailies and weeklies used the material which we supplied and acquainted their readers with our programs and the descriptions of our activities. We also issued several attractive posters which were placed in offices of our local unions and published brief leaflets describing our educational activities. These were distributed among our members.

Strike Activities—During the recent strikes of the Waistmakers' and Cloakmakers' Union, the Educational Department was active in arranging entertainments for strikers. Musical talent was secured. Lecturers addressed small as well as large groups of newly organized workers on various aspects of Labor problems. Lantern slides were used to illustrate the activities of the I. L. G. W. U.

Drama and Music—The Educational Department has continued to provide the members with tickets to dramatic and musical performances of the highest character at reduced prices. This service is appreciated by our membership.

Books and Book Service—The Educational Department prepared a list of books valuable to our members. By arrangement with the publishers, these were secured at wholesale prices. The department assisted several of our organizations to purchase libraries at reasonable cost. Our members appreciate this service and take advantage of it in great numbers.

Social Activities—The social activities organized by our Educational Department are an invaluable feature of our work. They serve to bring together hundreds, and in some cases, thousands of our members. A spirit of solidarity is engendered, and our members are inspired to contribute to the growth and development of this organization.

Opening exercises of our educational activities were held in different cities. They were attended by many thousand men and women, young and old, representing our local unions. These exercises were a source of inspiration to our members. In each case prominent artists and speakers were on the program. Other gatherings on a smaller scale were equally powerful in bringing pleasure into the lives of our members and creating greater solidarity among them.

Although some who attend these gatherings do not participate actively in our educational activities, because of age and other important reasons, yet they take pride in the fact that with their financial support they are helping to develop an activity which will give strength and an intellectual meaning to the Trade Union Movement.

Our Unity Homes—The effort to develop the artistic sense of our members has resulted in the establishment of Unity summer homes, conducted on a cooperative basis by our New York Dress and Waismakers' Union and the Italian New York Dress and Waismakers' Union. In these, thousands of our members live in an atmosphere of perfect democracy and fellowship, in cottages surrounded by gardens and forests, and equipped with all the conveniences that one could desire.

Our Unity Village in Forest Park was built originally for the wealthy who can obtain everything in life that money affords. The workers who built it never intended it for their own use. Let us compare these beautiful cottages with the ugly, uninspiring and unsanitary tenements of New York which so many workers inhabit and accept as the only kind of homes which they can afford and which society can provide for them. How much more could workers get out of life, even with their meager means, if they but learned how things can be done collectively through their Trade Union.

H. Boston Trade Union College.
(Taken from *Prospectus*)

Immediately after the end of the World War in 1918, in the wave of enthusiasm that swept through the labor movement at that time, the Boston Central Labor Union, through its so-called Reconstruction Committee undertook the organization of a college of its own. As stated in the preliminary announcement, the purpose of this Boston Trade Union College was "to make directly accessible to workingmen and workingwomen the study of subjects which will further the progress of organized labor." It was based on "the conviction that organized labor must develop its intellectual resources if it is to realize its hopes in the coming social and industrial order."

The educational policy was declared to be in accord with the following statements that recently had been voiced in the "Reconstruction Program" of the American Federation of Labor:

"Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind to a conception of independence and progress. Education must not be for a few but for all our people."

Though there had been other educational work already undertaken by individual trade unions or groups of unions, by benevolent institutions, and by political groups, the Boston Trade Union College was the first college in America to be established by the entire central labor body of any city. Since then, this plan has been followed with similar success in various other cities.

To the original "committee in charge" appointed on February 2nd, 1919 by the Boston Central Labor Union and made up of the men who had been most active in the labor movement there were added representatives of the teachers and later of the students. Of the 25 members of the "Board of Control," as finally constituted, 15 are now appointed by the Central Labor Union, 5 are elected by the students, and 5 are elected by the teachers. Since almost all of the students are regular trade-unionists and since the representatives of the teachers are almost all members of the Teachers' Union, the control of this labor college by

organized labor is ensured and the interest of the workers safeguarded.

When the college was actually opened on April 7, 1919, the number of students was 169. Within a year the total enrollment mounted as high as 450, though the number of students since then has not always been so high. The students have come to form a "Students' Association" of their own which has more and more come to play an important rôle in the running of the college, undertaking entertainments, dances, and other projects for the good of the college, making suggestions to the Board of Control, and electing five student representatives to that body. Moreover, as time has gone on, the 15 representatives appointed by the Central Labor Union have also tended to be selected from those who are or have been students in the college, so that over against the five representatives of the teachers sometimes as many as 17 out of the 25 members of the Board of Control have been students, past or present. Thus in this experiment in adult education, the control is well placed in the hands of those mature students who have had experience both in the labor movement and in the actual classroom work of the college.

The teachers who have at one time or another given courses in the college number over fifty. The Boston Trade Union College has been fortunate in being able to draw upon some of the best teachers at Harvard University, including the Dean and other professors of the Harvard Law School, and upon professors at Wellesley, Tufts, Simmons, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and other colleges of a neighborhood curiously rich in educational institutions. From the first in this Boston labor college the insistence has been made upon a high standard of scholarship in the teaching. The students themselves demand this and the feeling has been that in the long run the success of the college would depend not on advertising and publicity but upon the excellence of the work done in the classes.

The courses announced in the opening term in the Spring of 1919 were 14—referred to by some of the students at that time as "The Fourteen Points." Since then the tendency has been to focus attention on a few of the more important subjects. Economics, and especially the econom-

ics of industry, has naturally been looked upon as the most essential course in this labor college. Law, the use and abuse of legal machinery, and labor legislation have from the first constituted a course that has been a particularly strong feature of this Boston college. Literature has been studied internationally and with especial regard to its social significance. The course in Practice in Discussion has served not merely as an essential training ground in public speaking for the labor men but also as a sort of clearing house for the discussion of the ideas of the other courses. Among the other subjects which have been given from time to time are: Practice in Writing, elementary and advanced, Cost Estimating, Banking and Credits, Politics, Government, History, Philosophy, Science, Physics, Food-Chemistry, Hygiene, Recreation, the appreciation of Music, and especial mention should be made of the students' Drama Class which has produced a number of plays at the closing exercises of the college.

At first these courses were divided into three terms, Fall, Winter, and Spring, of ten weeks each. It has seemed better, however, to have them pursue one subject under one instructor through 24 consecutive weeks from October to April. The classes meet one evening a week for two hours, from 8 to 10 o'clock, the first hour usually being devoted to the presentation of the subject by the instructor and the second hour being given over to a general discussion in which all the students are expected to take part. The professor's specialized knowledge and the students' range of practical experiences in labor have thus supplemented each other in a helpful cooperation of the expert and the experienced.

For these courses, the students have paid a fee averaging 25 cents a lecture, or with a slight reduction \$5.00 for a full course of 14 lectures. Often the Trade Unions themselves have contributed a number of five dollar scholarships and selected members of their union to fill them. Originally the teachers were paid from these sums at the rate of \$10.00 a lecture, but to help in the economy of the running of the college, the teachers themselves voted to reduce this salary to \$5.00 a lecture and many of the teachers have returned their checks to the funds of the college.

Further economy has been made by using the rooms of some of the public school buildings for the classes. The Boston Trade Union College, however, is planning to have rooms of its own so that it can be more independent of school committees and superintendents, and these rooms of their own can serve during the day time as a sort of club room to which the students can have access, where the school library can be stored, and where all manner of meetings and discussions helpful to the labor movement can be held.

I. The First Resident Labor College.

(Taken from *Prospectus* issued by Brookwood Labor College, 1924-25)

Location—Brookwood is a resident workers' educational institution at Katonah, N. Y., forty-one miles from New York City on the Harlem Division of the New York Central Railroad.

Purpose—Save for the fact that it stands for a new and better order, motivated by social values rather than pecuniary ones, Brookwood is not a propagandist institution. It seeks the truth, free from dogma and doctrinaire teaching. It believes that the labor and farmer movements constitute the most vital concrete force working for human freedom and that by exerting a wise social control they can bring in a new era of justice and human brotherhood.

Men and women who desire to be effective and useful in the labor and farmer movements, whether as rank and file members or as officials, need in the first place a point of view, a method of approach to their problems—respect for facts, willingness to face facts, ability to dig out relevant facts, and to solve problems and make generalizations on the basis of facts. In the second place, they need the means for progressively shaping a policy, with regard to the main issues confronting the organized workers at the present time. Thirdly, they need a certain amount of training in the technique of labor union administration and of activities such as speaking, writing, organizing, teaching, in which they may be called upon to engage. Brookwood seeks to provide an education along these lines. It is, then, a school to educate workers to work in the workers' move-

ment. It frankly aims *not* to educate workers out of their class.

Every teacher in Brookwood has had actual experience in the labor movement either as an official or otherwise, and the faculty and administrative group are organized as Brookwood Local No. 189, of the American Federation of Teachers, which is a part of the American Federation of Labor. The local is affiliated with the Central Body of New York City and with the State Federation of Labor. The school itself and its student organization are affiliated with the Workers Education Bureau of America, endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

Coeducational—Brookwood is strictly a coeducational institution and affords an absolute equality of opportunity and responsibility as between the sexes. Association in the intellectual, manual, and recreational life of the community insures a mutual comprehension and gives a practical preparation for similar association in the labor movement after the students leave Brookwood.

Length of Course—The length of the full course is two years. Special arrangements may be made with the faculty by qualified students who occupy posts of responsibility in their unions and can not take the time for a two-year course, to take a one-year course (eight months) selected from the subjects mentioned under Curriculum.

Curriculum—We give herewith a brief provisional statement on courses to be offered, to suggest what Brookwood aims to provide for its students.

The first year courses seek chiefly to train the minds of the students as instruments for acquiring knowledge and thinking through problems, and to lay sound foundations in the study of the social sciences. The second year courses provide more direct technical training for "work in the workers' movement."

While it is expected that all of the students will acquire some knowledge of all or most of the subjects here named, the work, particularly in the second year and in certain Special Courses, will be so arranged that properly qualified students, after consultation with the faculty, will be enabled to specialize to a certain extent along the lines they expect to follow after leaving Brookwood.

First year courses will include: *How to study*—a brief

preliminary course about the aims of the Brookwood course, how the human mind works, how to take notes, how to use books, periodicals, etc. This course will extend over several weeks at the beginning of the term, various instructors working along with individual students or small groups in order that the men and women coming from mines, mills and railroads may learn at the outset how to use effectively the tools with which intellectual work is done; *The Use of the English Language*—training in speaking and writing with attention to the processes of thought involved; study of the work of modern writers, including the biography of leaders in the labor movement; parliamentary law; tutoring in grammar, spelling, correction of speech defects, etc., for students who need it. Special attention to writing for the labor press; opportunity for practice in editing, proof reading, etc., in connection with the *Brookwood Review*, the official organ of the college, which is published at intervals during the school year, deals with the problems of labor, including especially Workers' Education, and is distributed free of charge to the labor press of the United States; *History of Civilization*—beginning with a survey of American history and the origin of American institutions and leading back to a consideration of the origin of human life on earth and the development of organized society, as a possible basis for determining how human activity may be controlled so as to promote the highest interests of society; *Psychology*—a brief, non-technical course giving special attention to the processes of straight and effective thinking and to the factors determining the actions of individuals and groups; *Social Economics*—the resources and population of the United States, the processes of industry and finance, concrete problems such as unemployment, child labor, nationalization of basic industries, waste, the attempt being made in each case to study *practical programs of action for organized labor*. In connection with this study of the actual working of the economic system, some attention will be paid to economic doctrines as set forth by the leading authorities in this field. This course will be carried on into the second year when the workings of federal, state, county and municipal governments, labor and the law, social insurance and similar problems will be taken up. In connection with this course, training will

be given in the gathering of research material, reading statistical charts, bank statements, etc. The course will be conducted to some extent jointly by the instructors in Social Economics and Labor Problems, who will determine when the various problems here suggested will be taken up.

Second year courses will include: *Social Economics* (continuation of above); *History of the American Labor Movement*—to include study of the structure and government of trade unions; *Trade Union Administration*—psychological and mechanical factors in union management; also office management, keeping records, simple bookkeeping; *Trade Union Organization*—the practical details of organizing various types of workers, conduct of strikes, negotiation with employers, etc.; *Labor Legislation and Administration*—the principles and types of legislation affecting labor, and the structure and effectiveness of the enforcing agencies; *Survey of the Movements of Agricultural and Industrial Workers in Other Countries*—including some reference to alternative social systems proposed or tried by these movements, such as those of the syndicalist, communist, socialist, guild socialist, cooperative; *How to Use the English Language* (continuation of first year course); *Social Psychology*—given in connection with other courses in order to suggest the contribution of psychology to the solution of labor and social problems; *Statistics*—opportunity for some additional training in accountancy, surveys, research, for qualified students; *Workers' Education*—seminar with members of Brookwood faculty in the problems of Workers' Education, to be given if qualified students are in attendance; *The Strategy of the Labor Movement*—about eight weeks at the close of the second year course will be devoted almost exclusively to a seminar in which will be discussed such problems as the ultimate and immediate aims of the labor movement and the probable course of events in the next few years as determining the extent to which such aims can be realized. Scientific Management and Production. Collective Bargaining. Strikes. Labor Banks. Cooperation. Dual Unionism. Amalgamation. The Intellectual and Technician in the Labor Movement. Labor Press. Labor Legislation. Political Action. Nationalization and Workers' Control. All other courses will

be planned in such a way as to furnish material for a fruitful discussion of these pressing strategical problems.

Entrance Requirements—Save in very exceptional cases, no student will be admitted to Brookwood who has not worked in industry and held membership in a labor union for at least one year.

No examinations and no specific preparatory schooling are required for entrance to Brookwood. While an effort is made through individual tutoring to help those who are lacking in elementary subjects such as English and arithmetic and who have no opportunity of remedying this lack, intending applicants who have the opportunity are strongly urged to secure as much preliminary training as possible not only in English and arithmetic, but in such subjects as history and economics.

No hard and fast age limits have been set. Brookwood seeks students who are old enough to appreciate their responsibilities to their fellow workers and yet young enough so that their training will count for the most not only in the length of their service, but in the spirit and ardor which they put into that service.

Summer Courses—Two successful short courses for labor people and union teachers were given at Brookwood during the summer of 1924.

CHAPTER XXIX

LABOR AND ITS PRESS

A. The Press is the Most Powerful Weapon in Molding Public Opinion.

(Taken from Report on the Labor Press, A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1914, p. 164)

There is no more effective way to control men than through their minds. Control over mind-stuff material constitutes control over the lives and destinies of men and women. The material which most largely enters into the creation and the shaping of public opinion is in the pages of the newspapers. The power that controls the press of America determines to a large extent political, social and economic development. A truth can make or break a sentiment. A truth has the power to move the heart of man to compassion or to fire his soul with some great purpose. Yet the press has the power of life or death over many truths. That which is not known for all practical purposes does not exist. Facts, causes, conditions that are unknown to the public have no part in determining public opinions and policies. The workers have found that in struggles for industrial justice one element vitally important for success is getting the facts about their cause before their fellow workers and the public.

Public opinion is formed almost entirely by the press. Back of the press is an invisible power autocratically determining what information shall be published and what suppressed. That power controls the great news-gathering agencies. It extends to the editorial rooms. It is felt in the publishing houses. This invisible autocrat owes its resources to business and property interests, consequently either consciously or unconsciously it serves those interests.

To give publicity to the cause of those who contend

for reform or humanitarian purposes there must be a press free from the domination of this throttling control. Such a press has been steadily growing in influence and numbers. The number and the character of the labor papers published today are most gratifying. The labor press has been the champion of the workers—the masses of our people; to speak the right word at the right time for those bowed by heavy burdens and weary hearts,—the victims of injustice, heedlessness, greed and brutality; those whose cause did not have popular favor. Many of those who have ungrudgingly given the toil of heart and mind to the labor press have found reward only in the consciousness of worthy work worthily done. Many a weary hour goes into the preparation of the news columns and the editorials of each issue. The difficulties are discouraging but the labor editor knows that every bit of truth, however small or fragmentary, that he is able to inject into the thought material of the public is an entering wedge to blast away prejudice and misrepresentation. Every effort helps the ultimate purpose—the freedom and the welfare of humanity.

The labor press has a very great work to perform. Its business is to get before the people the real news of life—the truths about living and working. The metropolitan press is largely a commercial undertaking—for it living and working are newspaper materials for stories that appeal to popular interests. For the labor press the point is to make truths about living and working known to everyone. These truths have the power to move men and governments.

The labor press must have support and opportunity in order to accomplish its purpose. Everyone loyal to the cause of Labor should feel the duty devolving upon him to support financially and morally the labor press that has done so much for the cause and can be enabled to do infinitely more.

B. Labor Distrusts the Capitalistic Press.

(Taken from "Labor and the Press," in *Railway Carmen's Journal*, February, 1920, p. 61)

The call of the State Central Committee of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor at its meeting in Pittsburgh

for subscriptions to the amount of \$500,000 to start a labor paper for Pennsylvania is significant of the nationwide distrust of the capitalistic press. Labor is learning how essential it is that it know the truth as to what is happening in the world. It must have a press of its own to awaken labor to a realization that it must rely upon itself and itself alone in the struggle for its organized existence and the promotion of its ideas.

The press of today is owned and almost absolutely controlled by the capitalistic class. It reflects primarily the banking, railroad, mining, franchise, and trustified interests of the country. It terrifies the public by falsified news of labor, of disorders, of conspiracies which do not exist. It frames up conspiracies, and is today the greatest agency for aligning society against labor. The conscience of the capitalistic press is gone. The large press associations which carry news from all over the world, suppress or minimize the rightful claims of labor, and exaggerate into crimes its most trivial acts.

Labor must realize that it can expect nothing from the capitalistic press. It is owned and kept and reflects those who own it and keep it. It is a purely private and class instrument. It has become predominantly this within the last few years. And it shows its fangs when a crisis like that which now confronts the country arises.

Labor must have a press of its own. And it is rapidly developing this agency. In Seattle, Butte, Chicago, Washington, and soon, we hope, everywhere, there will be a string of papers that will honestly, courageously and intelligently express the aspirations of labor, and tell the truth about the conditions under which we live.

C. The Labor Press Encounters Innumerable Obstacles.

(Taken from "How Labor Can Build a Daily Press," by Oscar Ameringer, reprinted from *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* in *International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union Journal*, March, 1924, pp. 10-13)

There is a crying demand for a labor press on the part of labor. Unfortunately, it is only a crying demand. It is not a cash demand. And, sad to say, landlords, paper manufacturers, printers and tax gatherers refuse to accept

tears in lieu of cash—a fact which is usually overlooked by the good brothers crying for a labor press. The proverbial “long-felt want” which furnishes the prime reason for the establishment of a labor paper usually continues during the life of the publication. To tell the truth, the publication of a labor journal is but one long-felt want after another.

Sources of Income—Naïve souls have a notion that newspapers make money on circulation. They do nothing of the kind. Even such gigantic publications as the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune would go in bankruptcy if they depended on circulation income. The best that any newspaper can expect from its circulation income is enough to defray a small part of the cost of the print paper.

In the case of capitalist publications, circulation is but a means to an end. The end is advertising. Hence, they usually spend their entire circulation income to obtain and maintain their circulation. When we take further into consideration that distribution by carriers, news agencies and street sales constitutes another heavy drain on a paper, we are perfectly safe in stating that even the most successful publications do not derive any revenue whatsoever from circulation.

This fact is persistently overlooked by the promoters of labor papers. The formula employed by my optimistic colleagues is somewhat like this: Five thousand subscribers at \$2 per year is \$10,000, and that is enough to pay all the expenses for a year. Now, the first five hundred or one thousand subscribers come comparatively easy, because there is always a certain per cent of union men who feel duty bound to support “their paper.” The next thousand comes a little harder, and by the time the fourth or fifth thousand is reached, the interesting discovery is made that it costs about three dollars to collect a two-dollar bill by the way of subscriptions. By that time the easy money from the first few thousand has been spent for equipment, for it is an unwritten law with labor papers that they are the only business enterprises which can be established with liabilities. We do not realize that two dollars received for a year’s subscription does not belong

to us until the last copy of the fifty-two weekly issues is in the hands of the subscriber.

As a result of this policy, coupled with the lack of stock and working capital, few labor papers obtain sufficient circulation to make them desirable advertising mediums. And, as stated before, no paper, irrespective of the size of its circulation, can exist on income alone at the price for which papers are sold at the present time.

Advertising—Besides the limited circulation of labor papers, there are other weighty reasons why advertising is exceedingly difficult to procure.

To begin with, the merchants are usually hostile to the labor press. Big or little, they are mental camp followers of the open shop, mining, manufacturing and transportation interest. And this in spite of the fact that their sales and profits are dependent upon the wage fund expended in their respective localities! Good wages benefit merchants and landlords as much or even more than they benefit labor. But it would be rather a difficult task to educate this class in the rudiments of political economy. Thus we find the interesting phenomena that merchants are reluctant to advertise their wares in papers which are exclusively read by purchasers; that landlords do not advertise their empty flats and houses in publications read almost exclusively by renters; and that employers of labor do not patronize the want columns of a labor paper when they seek labor for their industries. Another great obstacle for the labor press is that few housewives read labor papers. For their justification it may be said that they have trouble enough to make ends meet without torturing their souls with accounts of strikes and lockouts. Moreover, the average woman simply will not read a paper which contains no store news, as advertising is called in the vernacular of the advertising game. She wants to see the bargains and bargain sales, and labor papers are notoriously short on department store advertising. As a result of this tendency the pulling power of other advertisements besides that of bargain sales is seriously curtailed by the fact that the women, who do most of the buying, rarely see these advertisements. Labor papers, therefore, find themselves in the vicious circle of no circulation no store news, no store news no circulation.

To the above handicap must be added that labor papers that are really labor papers are definitely barred from printing certain classes of advertisements. The metropolitan dailies can advertise anything from pink pills for pimpled people to thugs, strikebreakers and gunmen, and the proletariat will read them just the same. But let a poor, half-starved labor sheet carry the advertisement of a brand of non-union tobacco, which, by the way, is consumed almost exclusively by the above said proletariat, and there is hell to pay. Our good friends seem to think that it is perfectly ethical to spend union money for non-union commodities, but they cannot bear the cruel thought of a labor editor buying beans and bacon with the same money after it has passed through the hands of a non-union concern.

Union-made goods constitute but a small percentage of the expenditure of union families. If union men would patronize union-made goods freely they would be sold freely. And the only reason why union-made goods are found so infrequently is because there is not enough demand for them. And from this it follows that labor papers which are restricted to advertising for union goods and concerns "fair" to organized labor must draw their support from a field comprising less than 5 per cent of the total business of a community.

As a source of revenue the advertising patronage of the average labor paper is, therefore, almost as dismal as its circulation income.

Job Work—We come now to the third and last source from which a labor paper may hope to draw its sustenance. That source is job work. And here the outlook for success is nearly as dolorous as with circulation and advertising.

Price and quality of work being equal, the typical merchant or manufacturer will give the job work to the non-union shop. However, the typical labor paper can not compete even on an equal basis for commercial job work. In the first place, the equipment of a first-class printery runs into sums far above the command of labor publications. And in the second place, it is compelled by its very nature to employ only union help in every department and to use union-made material whenever possible.

Now, in all due respect to the printing trades unions,

truth forces me to state that while they are not always successful in establishing 100 per cent union conditions in capitalist plants, they never fail to do so in the case of printing establishments owned and operated by labor. I could write a lengthy and rather painful chapter on this particular subject. For the purpose of this article it will suffice, however, to state that the necessity of paying the highest wages and obeying every union rule to the dot makes it difficult for labor printeries to compete, not only with non-union shops, but with capitalist union shops as well.

The handicap mentioned above is serious enough in itself, but might yet be overcome were it not for the fact that labor unions display no more sentiment in business than do hard-hearted and hard-headed business men. In other words, they have their printing done where they get it the cheapest. Of course, they demand the union label on their printing. But if a capitalist concern, thanks to superior facilities, lower wages and labor discipline, can produce the same job for a few cents on the dollar cheaper than it can be produced by a labor printery, the capitalist concern is pretty sure of landing the job.

I believe I can illustrate the point best by relating the experience of the Oklahoma Leader Company in this particular field. The Oklahoma Leader Company is the property of the farmers and wage workers of the Southwest. The Leader plant, which cost over two hundred thousand dollars, is one of the best newspaper establishments south of St. Louis, and is capable of producing almost anything in the printing line from a visiting card to a 32-page daily newspaper.

During the first four months of the existence of the daily Leader, it secured an advertising business amounting to about \$3,000 per month. Then the open shop fight broke out. True to its mission and owners, the daily Leader fought a valiant battle for the principles of unionism. The result was a boycott by the local chamber of commerce which after three years is still in operation and which has cost the Leader a loss of \$150,000 up to date.

In the desperate effort of saving the only workers' daily of the Southwest, I appealed to some of the railroad brotherhoods to give the Leader the printing of their

monthly journals. Let me say in this connection that the Leader plant is fully equipped to do this kind of work, so that in spite of the increased freight rates from the northern paper mills, it is in a position to compete almost on an equal basis with the large capitalist printeries in the North. Moreover, the Leader plant was erected by union labor from top to basement, and is organized in every department.

In bidding for one of those brotherhood journals it turned out that our bid was just a trifle higher than that of a capitalist printery. The difference amounted to five cents per year for each of the 100,000 members of that brotherhood, yet the capitalist enterprise obtained the contract. In bidding for the official journal of another large union, it developed that the bid of the Leader represented a yearly saving of \$15,000 as compared with the price charged by a local capitalist concern which had printed the journal for the last ten years or so. Whereupon the capitalist enterprise reduced its price two dollars per thousand below that of the Leader and walked off with the contract. Now when we consider that the Leader has given hundreds of columns of publicity for this same very union, and had written scores of editorials, which, by the way, were freely reprinted in the strike propaganda literature of this and other unions, it can be readily understood why managers and editors of labor papers often feel like throwing up the sponge.

A purely capitalist concern near Chicago, which can not and does not render any service to labor in times of need, is publishing some fifty-odd monthly labor journals. The contract for any two of these journals would have enabled the Leader to continue the publication of its daily. As it is, the daily had to be reduced to a weekly, and this in spite of the aid received from the Garland Foundation and the Mine Workers of Illinois, whose official organ, the *Illinois Miner*, is printed in the Leader plant.

A Solid Foundation for a Labor Press—If the international labor unions would concentrate their work in say ten labor-owned plants, the legitimate earnings on this work would be sufficient to subsidize ten first-class labor dailies. As it is, the labor press is starved to death by those it seeks to serve; and if the short-sighted policy as

illustrated herein is not changed, the future of the American labor press is well nigh hopeless.

In speaking of the labor press, I mean, of course, the publications which seek to serve labor as a whole, as contrasted with the official union organs whose prime mission is to serve their respective organizations. As mediums of spreading the aims and object of unionism among the unorganized masses, the official union organ is practically useless. A few of the best of them may be read by outsiders, while the worst of them are not even read by their own members.

What is more, some of the official journals are very much like the court monitors of the days of monarchy. All too many of them deny the rank and file of their organization the opportunity to criticise or even to discuss the acts of their elected officials. I fully realize that labor union officials are often unjustly criticised. Frequently they are even outrageously slandered by the rank and file, and especially by that portion of the rank and file which is seeking the jobs of the present incumbents. For my own part, I am of the opinion that thousands of union officials have been driven into retirement or into the camp of the enemies of labor by the unjust attacks of their own members. The rank and file of labor has still to learn to treat its self-chosen officials with the respect and consideration they extend to government officials, who as a rule are chosen for labor by the opponents of labor. Some union officials, however, have gone so far as to reduce their journals to mere barkers for their personal political ambitions, and if these gentlemen had their way, the freedom of the press would be restricted to the printing of their pictures and luminous accounts of their heroic deeds, accompanied by the editorial comment, "Ain't he great."

There ought to be some middle ground between the "barker organ" of officialdom and the irresponsible free lance labor sheet. In the *Illinois Miner* we have established an open forum for the discussion of questions pertaining to the welfare of the organization. To the best of my knowledge, this is the only official labor organ containing such a department. On the whole I believe that the introduction of the open forum has been beneficial to both the officers of the organization and to the rank and file.

It has given the officials a medium to speak directly to the whole of their membership, and it has given the rank and file an opportunity to talk back. Freedom of expression is as essential to the welfare of a labor organization as the safety valve is to the boiler. Moreover, ideas that can only be answered by suppression are too valuable to be suppressed and in fact can not be suppressed.

The open forum of the *Illinois Miner* has been subject to a trifling amount of abuse. It is always difficult to preserve the fine balance between liberty and license. But it is better to suffer a little from license than to suffer the loss of the dearest acquisition of the human race—liberty.

Conclusion—Unofficial labor organs which depend for their existence on circulation, advertising and job work are of little value to labor. Those that are really edited in the interest of labor cannot obtain advertising. And those that can secure advertising are as a rule not worth reading. The lack of capital and equipment, high wages and loose labor discipline do not permit these papers to recoup their losses on commercial job work. In other words, they can not compete with the capitalist union printeries.

The official labor press is usually restricted to a definite craft or branch of labor. Even the very best official journals are rarely read by outsiders, and the worst of them are not even read by their own members.

As a result of these shortcomings of both types of labor papers, the general public is dependent for its labor news on the capitalist press, which, with a few honorable exceptions, is hostile to labor or at best is ignorant of its aims, ideals and aspirations.

The establishment of a real labor press capable of influencing the great masses outside of the ranks of labor, without whose assistance or consent organized labor must remain forever a more or less helpless minority, can be made possible through the concentration of the job work of the big unions in a number of publishing plants owned by labor.

The legitimate profit from printing the stationery, literature and journals of the great international labor bodies and the railroad brotherhoods would be enough to subsidize a respectable number of daily, weekly and monthly labor publications. These publications would

command sufficient income to employ expert journalists, writers, economists, technicians, engineers and statisticians to produce journals which would command the respect of the country at large.

By interlocking the directorate of these publishing houses so as to assure cooperation between them and by syndicating the products of their staffs, a labor press could be created which would be free from the deadening influence of advertisers and poverty and which could compete with the capitalist newspapers and magazines. Such organization would give to labor the service of the intellectuals whose sympathies are fully with labor but who are forced at the present status of the labor press to sell their ability to the other side.

Moreover the joint possessions of these publishing houses by a number of labor bodies would add greatly to the spirit of solidarity which is sadly needed in the labor movement.

One thing is sure: as long as the "moral and financial support of labor" is so divided as to give the labor press the moral support and the capitalist the financial support, the labor press of this country will remain the same poor anemic thing it is now.

CHAPTER XXX

COOPERATION AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

- A. Cooperation is Vital Activity of the Labor Movement.
(Taken from Report of Special Committee on Cooperation, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1917, pp. 309-10)

All the members of your committee have made the subject of cooperation the study of many years, have had personal experience in conducting or investigating cooperative societies and are acquainted with cooperation as a great world movement. In their judgment the cooperative principle and the trade union principle give rise to no hurtful interference with each other, but are naturally helpful, and each is in a degree beyond measure a factor in the economic, social, political and educational development of the wage-earning masses.

- B. Cooperation is a Valuable Activity in Furthering the Interest of the Workers.

(Taken from "The Cooperative Movement and Trade Unions," reprinted from Report of Trades Union committee to Chicago Cooperative Congress, presented by Chairman John H. Walker, in *Illinois Miner*, February 3, 1923, p. 4)

It should be pointed out to the trade unionists that if it is of sufficient importance to him and his family that he should devote his time and energy to establish and maintain a trade union movement, which has among its most important purposes securing from the employer the highest wage that his labor can command, he should also understand that it is equally important that he should organize to protect those wages and to secure full value in the necessities of life in return for those wages when he spends them.

It should be pointed out to him that not only can he save money in operating his own retail consumers' co-operative store, but that also when there are enough co-operative retail stores in operation they can unite to form a wholesale which cuts out still more of the middlemen who stand between him and the point of production.

It should be pointed out that, as the cooperative movement extends into the field of production, it will enable the trade unionist to own his own job and thereby secure the very safest and sanitary conditions of labor to protect his life and health. As the cooperative movement enters the field of production it can also be used to enable him to compel the private employer to grant the same condition in private industry.

Where the workers in cooperative societies are owners and operators of productive industries, in operating their own plants, buying their raw material, making it into the finished article, shipping and distributing the products, they have a complete record of indisputable facts as to the cost of every item entering into the putting of the finished article into the hands of the consumer. This enables these workers to understand where there is dishonesty or inefficiency in the operation of the private plants.

It should be pointed out to the trade unionist that when the cooperative movement has developed into the financial field it will not only establish banks where he may deposit his money and receive the full legal rate of interest upon it, but in addition, he can be sure that those finances will be conducted always in such a way as to benefit him.

When the cooperative movement has developed to the point at which it is operating its own banks, it also provides the most reliable and cheapest kind of insurance against sickness, accident and unemployment. Building societies can be established and the funds used to furnish the working man the very best kind of a home at actual cost. In all of these activities, as the worker has control, he is enabled to see to it that only union material is used and union men and women are employed. This means a continual building up and strengthening of the power and influence of the labor movement.

The cooperative movement brings the women—the mother, the wife, daughter and sisters of the workers—into

the struggles of labor in a helpful way. They not only come to understand the commercial and financial problems, but also to understand the industrial problems of the workers.

It should be pointed out that the cooperative movement establishes a basis on which the workers in agriculture can meet on an equal footing with the workers in the other industries. They can help each other and see each other's problems from a friendly point of view.

C. Ideal of Cooperation is to Enable Workers and Farmers to Control Economic Life.

(Taken from "Why 'Labor' Urges the Cooperative Stores," reprinted from *Labor in Railway Carmen's Journal*, June, 1920, p. 343)

Labor wants to emphasize again that the sole objective of the cooperative movement is not to cut the cost of living or to make the pay envelope go 20 per cent farther. It will accomplish that desirable result, but there are big gains of another kind.

Labor is urging that the worker and the farmer should control their economic life. That is the end in view. They should be organized not alone to bargain collectively, but to own and operate as many things as possible collectively. There is a saying among old cooperators that economic power must precede political power. Labor believes that the organized workers will more than double their power as collective bargainers when they own their own stores, their own wholesalers, their own banks, and their own producing plants.

We cannot over emphasize the moral gains that will come with the growth of the cooperative movement.

Labor is not dreaming of saving a few dollars when it urges its readers to organize cooperative stores. Labor is dreaming of a new kind of commonwealth—a commonwealth of labor. That is why you should begin to think of becoming a cooperator, a pioneer in the new movement for freedom. It, with political action, is the next big step in the forward progress of labor.

CHAPTER XXXI

MOBILIZING LABOR'S FINANCIAL RESOURCES

A. New Sources of Power and Influence.

(Taken from "Life Insurance," by E. C. Davison, in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, March, 1924, p. 128)

More and more Labor is coming to the conclusion that it must increase its control over a larger and larger number of financial functions. The advent of Unions into the banking business shows this. The Unions must seek new sources of power and influence and they must entrench themselves more firmly in the life of the country and extend their services to other numbers. This is inevitable. It is the law of growth and progress.

B. Credit is the Lifeblood of Society.

(Taken from "Cooperative Banks for Labor," in *Railway Carmen's Journal*, April, 1920, p. 179)

Credit is the lifeblood of society. Credit brings labor and his tools together. We think of credit as an agency of business; as something that only the railroads, the capitalists, the business men need. That is because these classes control banking and credit. They have taken them away from the farmer and the worker who need them just as much as does the business.

Labor in America receives upward of \$30,000,000,000 a year in wages. The farmer receives half as much more. Workers and farmers form the production classes; they produce all of the wealth of the world. It all comes ultimately from labor and land.

Why should not the workers and the farmers do their own banking? Why should not they control their own credit agencies? They do in other countries. And they have made a success of it wherever it has been tried. There are no

failures and practically no losses in the banking activities of the workers of Europe, which have a turnover running into billions of dollars each year.

It is a myth of the bankers that banking is so difficult that no one except experts can perform it. That it is a simple operation, a safe operation and an operation that the people themselves can control, has been demonstrated all over the world, covering a period of nearly 100 years.

C. Life Insurance is Important Source of Financial Power.

(Taken from "Life Insurance," by C. E. Davison in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, March, 1924, p. 128; April, 1924, p. 175)

The most thoughtful portion of the Union Labor movement is beginning to realize that life insurance offers a remarkable field for cooperative effort and achievement. What will be the great objects accomplished by conducting in a cooperative way our own life insurance business? First, and foremost, our money will be controlled by ourselves. The money saved by the wage earners will be used in the interest of the wage earners and not turned over to great corporations whose directors as a rule are great captains of finance and are manufacturers or bankers, whose influence and the power of the accumulated money which they hold, they use, in almost every instance, in a way hostile to the best interests of the wage workers.

In this day financial power is the greatest power we know, and in the whole financial world there are no more powerful financial institutions than these great life insurance companies. But their great income and their vast assets arise from a great number of small payments made by individuals. But this money flows, as a rule, to New York and the other great financial centers and becomes there a great financial reservoir for big business.

Is it good sense for the workers to contribute their money to build up the great financial power of big business? Would it not be much wiser and would not the country and business men themselves feel a greater admiration for us if we handled our own business in all those particulars where it is easy to do so? Would it not be wiser for us to build up by a lot of small payments our own financial institutions, control our own money, and in that manner

become more and more a factor and a power in the modern world?

D. Labor Banks will Organize Labor's Dollars.

(Taken from "Labor in Banking," by E. J. Manion, in *Railroad Telegrapher*, January, 1924, p. 29)

Labor in Banking is a brand new departure in the labor movement. It is not the result of a spontaneous outburst of reprisal against the existing methods of financing, but rather an adaptation of these methods under a different application whereby labor's finances and credits will be given a new direction with the purpose in view of employing labor's capital (which constitutes approximately 72% of all savings deposits) in financing and promoting industries that maintain fair and humane relations with their workers.

Labor has for years demanded the right to a voice in the management of industry by reason of its tremendous contribution to production, but the captains of both big and little business have persistently refused to recognize labor's claim for representation on the Directorate. Yet, labor's money, the savings deposits of the workers, as well as labor's energy, both physical and mental, constitute the greatest factor entering into production under modern methods. It must therefore be patent that if labor is ever to participate in management, it must first acquire control of its own finances, which is the primary step to be taken in the program of gaining admission to the Directorate. To this end labor banks have been and are now being established throughout the country and millions of dollars of labor's money and the money of labor's friends are being mobilized in Labor Banks where it can be employed in financing business that is favorable towards labor and labor's policies.

Millions of dollars of labor's savings are now controlled by interests inimical to labor's welfare. To organize labor's dollars is the first mission of a labor bank.

To give these dollars intelligent direction so that they will work in conjunction with the economic power of labor for the betterment of the social, intellectual and general welfare of the workers and to establish labor on a par with capital in the conduct of industry, whereby proper recognition of labor's worth in production will be acknowledged

and labor be given its proper status on an equality with capital in the affairs of our country, is the second objective, and—

To solidify all of labor's finances by inaugurating and maintaining a cooperative movement between all labor banks and setting up a central bank that will function in conjunction with the member banks in the same manner that the Federal Reserve Bank now operates.

Under the methods now pursued by present day banks, the depositor is never considered in the matter of formulating policies, but the borrower is given every consideration, even to the extent of changing the policy of banks to conform with those of the borrower. Savings depositors are rarely elected to membership on the Board of Directors of Banks, but big borrowers are usually in the majority on these Boards. Hence the policy of the bank is dictated by borrower rather than by the savings depositor.

E. Labor Banking a Success.

(Taken from an editorial in *Justice*, November 2, 1923, p. 6)

The attempt of the labor unions to form their own banks was at first met, even in labor circles, with a good deal of pessimism. People expected a crash and a disillusionment right at the very early stages of Labor's endeavor to compete with the huge banking monopoly which controls credit in America. The dark prophets, however, missed their cue, and today labor banking in the United States has proved a success. A number of such banks are already in operation, controlled and run not in the interest of a few rich men but solely for the benefit of their worker-depositors and shareholders.

Simultaneously it became clear that the opening of a bank by a labor union does not imply in the least the weakening of its fundamental trade union principles. It stands to reason that organized workers cannot in principle object to having the interest money, let us say, that an organization such as our International with its locals in New York would have to pay annually to banks for loans, turned over to the treasury of our own bank, and thus save the Union tens of thousands of dollars every year. It

stands to reason that, if a labor union can be regarded as a valuable customer by a private bank, it should receive the same credit from its own bank.

F. Properly Administered Credit Control Institutions
Should Be Helpful Supplemental Agencies.

(Taken from Report of Committee on Resolutions
on "Banking and Credits," *A. F. of L. Proceedings*,
1923, pp. 269-70)

The Executive Council's Report on "Banking and Credits" in expressing words of caution against the formation of promiscuous and ill-matured banking institutions conducted by labor, is both commendable and timely. No greater disaster could come to existing labor banking institutions than the failure of one or more ill-considered and badly managed institutions of this character. In this as in all other tendencies the development of labor banks presents a fertile field to those who would exploit and commercialize the hopes and aspirations sought to be realized through institutions of this character. It is, therefore, all the more essential and important that the greatest possible degree of care and caution be exercised by those contemplating investing their funds or savings in the formation of labor banks.

Your committee is likewise in accord with the expressions of the Executive Council that labor banking institutions cannot possibly operate as a remedy for economic injustice and industrial unrighteousness. That they can be made helpful supplemental agencies to the trade union movement cannot be successfully controverted.

That there may be developed through these labor banking institutions an administration of credits in the interest of productive efforts, in the interest of true human progress and of service to society, is also hopefully anticipated.

Because of this supplemental aid and by reason of the influence that may be manifested in the control of our credit administration, the organized workers are urged to give favorable consideration and preference to such labor banking institutions as upon investigation by them are found to be established upon sound principles and managed along well established and proper lines.

G. Dependable Investment Information Service Needed to Counteract "Employee Ownership" machinations.

(Taken from Report of Executive Council of A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1925, pp. 21-22)

Supplementing the use of insurance to weaken the ties binding wage earners to trade unions, has developed a widespread indiscriminate advocacy of public and employee ownership and the investment by the workers of their earnings and savings in stocks and other securities of various forms.

Employee ownership has been hailed as "industrial democracy"—the workers owning the shop or the railroad. Advocates of this panacea have paid no heed to the different kinds of stocks and securities, not all of which carry the right to vote in regular company meetings. In the case of holders of stocks conveying voting power, minority holders have little or no opportunity to influence decisions.

There are obvious technical grounds which deter scrupulous employers from urging their employees to invest in securities of the company which employs them.

The success of our trade union movement has created an investment problem for many of our trade unionists. The determination of safe investments is not an easy problem and requires expert advice. But if wage earners strive to make themselves increasingly efficient workmen and maintain effective machinery for collective bargaining, their wages will increase proportionately. If they develop, as we hope they will, habits of thrift and proper concern for future protection, they will accumulate savings and be looking for investment opportunities. With this situation we face the necessity, first, of knowing just what is happening in the form of public and employee ownership and thereupon developing constructive suggestions. If dependable investment information service is not available, they have no protection against sellers of questionable securities. It is possible that the labor banks may ultimately supply this need, or that an agency or agencies controlled and directed by the trade union movement may be developed to gather and supply to the members of organized labor information regarding the value of investment securities.

PART VIII. LABOR AND THE STATE

CHAPTER XXXII

TRADE UNIONS AND LEGISLATION

- A. Trade Unions Must Not Rely on Legislative Methods as a Means of Directly Bettering Conditions (Majority Viewpoint).

(Taken from A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1914, pp. 424-5, 439-40, 442-3)

Delegate Frey, secretary of the Committee on Resolutions: The question raised by the committee's report is not one of an eight-hour or of a shorter workday, but is instead the announcement of the policy of the American trade union movement as to how we will endeavor to secure a shorter workday. There are but two methods of securing conditions that affect our lives as workers. One is through legislation, State and Federal, and the other through the activities of our trade union organization. The policy of the American trade union movement in the regulation of wages, in the regulation of the other terms of employment, has always been to endeavor to secure them through the strength of our unions and through negotiations with employers.

The experience of our movement and of trade union organizations in Europe has led the American trade union movement to believe that it is the most effective and that it is the safest method of procedure. We have tried in this country, as workingmen have endeavored to do in others, to secure through legislation a guarantee that our rights to organization and to trade union effort should not be interfered with. That has been one form of legislation which the trade union movement has most heartily and effectively applied. We have endeavored through legis-

lative enactment to have our rights as free men guaranteed so that we could then apply our trade union method to regulate the terms of employment.

There are workmen in this country and in other countries who do not believe the trade union method is most effective and they have placed their reliance upon the legislative method; and it is the results that have followed their efforts to establish a regulation of wages and hours that have convinced the trade unionists that it is not a safe method.

President Gompers: I want to use just an old doggerel, and it has no reflection upon any delegate to this convention, but it seems to me as an abstract proposition it is good—that "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." We have been asked, or advised, to go for all the laws we can get. Save the workingmen of America from such a proposition. There are a number of laws we can get, but prudence and defense of the rights and the liberties of the toilers are much more important than the effort to secure all the laws we can get. There are some men who fail to understand this one thing, that the labor movement of America is still in its infancy, and that in the cycle of time fifty or a hundred years count as a minute.

The question of what was law and what was the interpretation of law, and what was the administration of law, so far as they governed labor—it is only within the past half century that there has been any effort to take the grip of tyrannical government from the throat of labor. It is less than a month ago the Congress of the United States declared that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. It required a third of a century to work for the accomplishment of this one declaration, and in spite of that, one of the delegates said: "Why, pass such a law as the maximum eight-hour law and no court would dare to enforce anything like compelling men to work eight hours or more." Is that so? Since the passage of the labor provision in the Clayton Bill, signed by the President of the United States, the ink upon that act scarcely dry, a Federal Judge, Judge Anderson, sitting in Indianapolis, has issued an injunction forbidding the men of labor to quit their work. I haven't any doubt, with the aggressive, earnest, militant American Federation of Labor,

that Judge Anderson will have to swallow his own injunction. He is not the first judge who has had to walk the plank.

One delegate said: "Why, if you are opposed to the eight-hour workday for men by law, did you ask for a law regulating and limiting injunctions?" And it discloses the gentleman's discernment of actual facts. In the law to limit and regulate injunctions we propose to clip the power of the court in so far as labor is concerned, and in an eight-hour law for men it is to give the courts still greater power than they now have. Is there no difference? It is a fact, admitted not only by lawyers, but by every thinking, earnest, labor man, that once you give a court jurisdiction over any matter the court will find a way to exercise that jurisdiction. Place it in the power of the courts to take jurisdiction, to assume jurisdiction, to acquire jurisdiction, or to have jurisdiction accredited to them, and they will leave no stone unturned to exercise it to the detriment of the men and women of labor, who, after all, in all times have been compelled to suffer the tyranny and the oppression of an oligarchy, under whatever name it might be known.

I call your attention to what is stated in this pamphlet—"Which Way? Ballots or Strikes?" I agree there is so much one can say in regards to this, because though superficially it may appear it is simply a matter of difference of judgment and difference of opinion it is not a difference of opinion. If we can get an eight-hour law for the working people, then you will find that the working people themselves will fail to have any interest in your economic organization, which even the advocates declare is essential in order that such a law can be enforced.

Why, it is with considerable difficulty you can make non-union workingmen understand that it is only about 20 years ago that the old "pluck me" stores were found generally; when you had to board with the employer or where the employer directed; when the barbers had to live with their employers or they could get no jobs; and single life among them was the rule because they had to live with their employers. It is a difficult thing, I venture to say, for the officers and organizers of the barbers to get the young workmen in their trade to realize that that was a fact.

In the mining industry, I can not for the life of me understand how and why the United Mine Workers' delegates can consistently advocate the doing by law that which they did themselves. In my own trade—I speak of my own experience and used the statement yesterday before the committee—in my own trade it is difficult to make the cigarmakers of today understand that at one time the tenement-house system prevailed to such an extent that the entire trade practically was operated under that system. It is difficult to make young men in my trade understand that at one time the men would work from early morning until late at night. And in 1886 we established the eight-hour day for every union cigarmaker on the North American continent. It is difficult to make these young men understand, these men to whom we shall have to at last yield this movement, and it is only by helping to keep our heads erect, to keep the movement going on, and on, and on, in a logical, sequential and naturally developed order, so that the ranks of organized labor may be augmented, moving forward and preaching the gospel of unity and self-help, and mutual help, mutual responsibility to bear each other's burdens, and not to mimic and mock and repeat the abuses and the misrepresentation of what is underlying the great labor movement of our time.

If we keep our heads, if we move along the charted road, we will make progress and have no setbacks; we will continue to grow in numbers, in influence, in the confidence of our fellows, deserving as well as earning the respect of our fellow citizens, and constantly as we grow make our impression upon the public conscience. It is not today so much political statesmanship which is required; it is the industrial, humanitarian statesmanship which the times demand of us.

B. Labor Must Supplement Trade Union by Legislative Action in Advancing the Interests of Its Members (Minority Viewpoint).

(Taken from A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1914, pp. 425-6, 427-8, 430-1, 438-9)

Delegate Brown of the Timber Workers: There is an element in this country, I know, which feels everything should be secured through legislative process, and I think

it is as much one-sided, just as much endeavoring to go along on one leg, as the other element, which fancies everything can be secured through economic organizations. It occurs to me the proper course to pursue would be to use any agency that would be productive of the desired end.

Delegate Germer, of the United Mine Workers; I have often heard of persons whose feet were in the twentieth century and whose heads were in the fifteenth or sixteenth, and seemingly one of the delegates thinks such is a possibility. I am surprised to hear it said in a convention of the American Federation of Labor, which is supposed to be the cream of intelligence and enlightenment of the American labor movement, that it is unsafe to ask a maximum work-day by legislation. If it is unsafe to get an eight-hour workday by legislation it is unsafe to get an anti-injunction law or have a law passed declaring that the working class really has become human. If it is safe and desirable that we pay lobbying committees at Washington, that we pay committees in our different State Legislatures to beg for laws in the interests of the common people, if it is safe to ask for legislation of that nature, I want to know why it is not safe to ask for legislation regulating the number of hours a human being shall work?

One of the delegates spoke of the minimum wage law in Great Britain and tried to discredit it. I venture to say Delegate Frey will not go to Great Britain and try to take that minimum wage law from the miners. I know it means hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to the men in the mines. Formerly they had to go down into the mines and spend hours there and get nothing for it; now they are guaranteed a minimum whenever they are sent down into the mines.

If it is really unsafe, if that is the truth, then there is something wrong with our government, with our political authority, with our executive officials and with our judicial branch of the Government. And if there is something wrong with them, then there is something wrong with the working classes in the use of the ballot.

They elect the legislators, the executive officers, the legislative officers, the judicial officers, and if legislation is unsafe in their hands it is time the working people stop

knifing the political party that uses its funds, its press and its efforts to elect proper representatives.

I am not speaking for popular sentiment, but this fact remains undisputed,—you can ridicule it, you can cast odium on it if you will—but the fact, nevertheless, remains that the organized trade union movement of the United States is not using its energy, is not using its power, in the interests of labor. We have become an adjunct to the capitalist political machines, and instead of electing working people, men of our own rank, we elect “our friends” and then take hat in hand and go and beg legislation from them, and say legislation is not safe in the hands of those we elect.

If it is wrong to legislate for an eight-hour day and say no one shall work more than that, I again say it is unsafe to ask for anti-injunction bills to be passed by our Congress and our State Legislature; they say it is unsafe. But to leave it to the economic organizations and we ought to join the I. W. W.'s and the syndicalists, and say “To the devil with the laws.” We ought to go to sabotage and take direct action. They have no confidence in the Legislatures; they say it is unsafe. But the capitalists do not say it is unsafe to leave the legislation to the legislative bodies; the manufacturers’ associations do not think it is unsafe to leave the legislation to the legislative bodies; and when the women’s ten-hour bill was passed in Illinois the Manufacturers’ Association did not think it unimportant, but carried the case to the highest court in the State. They knew it was important. The State Federation of Labor fought it as long as the Manufacturers’ Association fought it, and had it declared constitutional.

You leave legislation alone and say it is dangerous. John D. Rockefeller thinks it is pretty safe, because he goes after legislation. The Vanderbilts and the Goulds and Wall Street think legislation is pretty safe because it is in their hands. If we get our men into office and use political strength and political unity along with our economic unity we would not need to come here and say that eight hours by legislation is unsafe. I am not afraid of losing anything if Congress passes an eight-hour law; in fact, it will give us added strength and prestige; we can appeal to the public, and if the employers force us on strike to enforce a law, if

that is necessary as a last resort, we can go before the public and prove that our enemy is a violator of the law.

But if we have no law on the statute books we have no basis except our economic strength, and probably the merits of our argument, and the merit of our logic does not appeal to "John the Baptist"; it does not appeal to the Goulds and the Vanderbilts; it is force you want, not only force on the economic field, but along with that the political force, the political unity of the working class along working class lines.

Delegate Paul Scharrenberg: Let us get the eight-hour day by economic action; and if we can let us get it by political action. I am one of those, and always have been, who believe in economic action first, all the time; but I am not an I. W. W., or a Nihilist or a syndicalist. I believe in using both arms.

Delegate John Mitchell: Now, I am not going to suggest that the trade unionists of the country should abandon their efforts through negotiations and strikes to secure shorter hours, better wages and better conditions of employment; but surely the workingmen are not required to abandon the militant efforts they have made simply because they use the Legislature to help improve the conditions of the men and women and children who toil.

It seems to me, if the report of the Committee is adopted in its present form, the Legislatures of the Western States can find some justification in their action if they should repeal the eight-hour day law that now protects the miners in those States. Only a few years ago, when we undertook to organize the coal miners of Montana, and succeeded in some camps, I am sure now that we could not have maintained our organization or we would not have had to give up the work, had it not been for the fact that by legal enactment the employers of non-union labor in the other camps were compelled to work men not to exceed eight hours in one day. The advantage, it seems to me, of an eight-hour workday—that is, a maximum eight-hour workday established by law—is that it applies equally to all the men in an industry, and therefore it accomplishes one of the purposes of trade unionism—it minimizes competition of men for jobs.

Delegate Louis Goazion: I am opposed to the report

of the committee and in favor of the substitute. I feel that legislation has helped the trade union movement. I feel that we ought to be and we no doubt are working for the best advantage obtainable through economic effort, but that should not prevent us from trying to obtain also all the advantage possible through legislative enactment. I will try to show you some instances where legislative enactments have been of benefit to the working class. My friends the miners have given you some good reasons in favor of legislation. I desire to add a few points to the reasons given by the miners.

The question was asked by Brother Frey if the miners did not get their eight-hour day through the trade union movement? They did. But it is also a fact that in Pennsylvania, in a district employing probably about 30,000 miners, it took four or five years before they got the eight-hour day, and it endangered the eight-hour day for a long time in other parts of the country. At the present time there are 50,000 miners and mine laborers in Pennsylvania who work nine and ten hours. The miners know that every time they come before their operators, the fact that these 50,000 miners work nine, ten and twelve hours prevents them from getting concessions from the operators. If Pennsylvania had an eight-hour law, the 50,000 miners in the coke region and other parts of the central field would work eight hours and the organized miners would be able to go forward.

CHAPTER XXXIII

NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTION (MAJORITY VIEWPOINT)

A. Reward Your Friends and Punish Your Enemies.

(Taken from "Forty Years of Action," an *A. F. of L. Pamphlet*)

The partisanship of Labor is a partisanship of principle. The American Federation of Labor is not partisan to a political party, it is partisan to a principle, the principle of equal rights and human freedom. We, therefore, repeat: Stand faithfully by our friends and *elect* them. Oppose our enemies and *defeat* them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or for other offices; whether Executive, Legislative or Judicial.

The experiences and results attained through the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor cover a generation. They indicate that through its application the workers of America have secured a much larger measure of fundamental legislation, establishing their rights, safeguarding their interests, protecting their welfare and opening the doors of opportunity, than have been secured by the workers of any other country.

We unhesitatingly announce that the trade-union movement herein represented is the most practical, safe and legitimate channel through which the working men and women of North America should not only continue to seek redress for their wrongs, but by which they can strengthen their economic position until it will control the political field, and thereby place Labor in full possession of its inherent rights.

B. Non-Partisan Political Policy Has Stood the Test of Time.

(Taken from "Forty Years of Action," *A. F. of L. Pamphlet*, p. 3)

In these nearly forty years of actively taking part in the making of the economic and political history of this

nation our Federation has witnessed the birth, the struggle for life and the passing away of all sorts of political movements designed to save the republic from varying degrees of destruction; it has been coddled and mauled, petted and cajoled by the cohorts of particular brands of Liberty; it has been assailed by isms and ologies without number; it has been baited with sugared doses for economic chills and political fevers; it has heard the dirge and attended the last sad rites over many a promising political corpse. It has been courted by all the allurements of the partisan politician; all the thralling visions of the emotional enthusiast have been pictured for its enticement; all the arts of the crafty self-seeker have been practiced to tempt it. But, despite all these, the American Federation of Labor has never been swerved from its non-partisan political course.

There has not been any political party instituted or created in the United States, but what, either during its life or after it has gone out of existence, its activities have been called into question, and at its demise its creation and injurious work have been mingled with feelings of humiliation and regret. During the many years of the American Federation of Labor's Non-Partisan Political Campaign, it has always been not only effective but clean, and at its temporary close the records of our campaigns and movement have been untarnished and the skirts of the American Labor movement have remained clean. Our movement has emerged from each campaign stronger and more virile than ever before to serve the cause of labor and justice, and through this constant loyalty to principle Labor now holds a commanding position in the legislative chambers of this Government.

C. Non-Partisan Political Action Gives Labor the Balance of Power in Elections.

(Taken from an editorial on "Political Action" by John P. Frey in *International Molders' Journal* February, 1919, p. 135)

The experience of the trade-union movement has made it evident that in many localities it is much more difficult to elect the candidate we desire to support, than it is to

defeat a candidate to whom we are opposed, because of the position he has assumed towards labor and labor legislation.

It is not difficult to understand why this should be so. In comparatively few localities are trade-unionists in the majority, therefore, it is necessary that they should have the support of those who are not trade-unionists to elect their candidate, and this is not always readily secured.

On the other hand, in almost every district where the trade-unionists are strongly opposed to a candidate, because of his labor record, there are in the same district, members of political parties who are also opposed to the same candidate, and who are only too willing to fall in line with the movement to secure the defeat of the man who is being opposed by the trade-unionists.

In a very large number of localities the trade-unions, while not having a majority or nearly a majority of the voters, do possess the balance of power. This balance of power may not enable them to elect the man of their choice, but it does give them sufficient influence to defeat the candidate to whom they are particularly opposed. This balance of power has been one of the factors in prompting candidates for legislative office to pledge themselves to vote for the measures which labor desired. In fact, much of the legislative progress which the American trade-union movement has made is due to the fact that candidates, in order to be elected, and depending upon the balance of power which the trade-unionists held, for their election, have not only pledged themselves to work and vote for the legislation required but have championed this legislation after their election.

This balance of power has also had a profound influence upon political parties in determining the character and type of men they select as candidates.

D. Practical Application of Non-Partisan Political Policy.

(Taken from Report of Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, printed in *American Federationist*, September, 1924, pp. 705-11)

The Executive Council, at its last meeting, instructed the Executive Committee of the American Federation of

Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee and as many other members of the Executive Council as could find it convenient, to attend the National Democratic and Republican conventions, and that the Executive Committee present the demands of labor to both conventions.

These instructions were carried out and we present the following report:

The policy of the American Federation of Labor's active and positive participation in politics was inaugurated in 1906. This non-partisan political policy was intended to secure the election of those in favor of the just and the humanitarian aims and purposes of the labor movement and the defeat of those who had demonstrated their hostility to the cause of labor.

The scope of the application of our policy has been extended to apply not only to congressional elections but to the offices of president and vice-president of the United States and to participation in primary elections. However, in principle the non-partisan policy inaugurated in 1906 has ever since governed the political course of the American Federation of Labor. Adherence to this non-partisan policy has resulted in a splendid record of legislative achievements. Reference to our 1906 Bill of Grievances compared with legislative enactments since testifies to the progress and success resulting from Labor's non-partisan political policy.

In keeping with this non-partisan political policy and by direction of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council and the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the American Federation of Labor prepared a series of legislative and constitutional proposals for submission to both major political parties for favorable consideration and incorporation into their political platforms.

The executive committee of the American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee presented Labor's proposals to the Republican convention.

The Republican convention gave Labor's representatives a brief and curt hearing. The Republican platform ignores entirely the injunction issue. It fails to deal with

Labor's rights to organize or the right of the workers even in self-defense, collectively to cease work. That platform sustains the Railroad Labor Board, with all that it means in the direction of governmental coercion of wage earners. *It fails to recommend the ratification by the states of the child labor constitutional amendment.*

The Republican convention nominated candidates unacceptable to labor.

Its candidate for vice-president is one of the most outspoken enemies of labor and is the founder of an organization dedicated to the task of writing into all political platforms planks calling for the anti-union shop—an organization which also encouraged and supported the Daugherty injunction against the railroad shopmen.

Labor's representatives submitted to the Democratic convention identical proposals to those submitted to the Republican convention. At this convention an extended hearing was granted. The Democratic platform pledges that party to legislation to regulate hours and conditions of all labor, a proposal against which the American Federation of Labor has struggled throughout its whole history. It is silent as to the injunction. It does not meet the Railroad Labor Board issue. On that point it is so equivocal that the enemies of Labor may well feel that their desires will be met. *It, too, fails to recommend the ratification by the states of the child labor constitutional amendment.*

The Democratic convention nominated candidates unacceptable to Labor.

As to the candidates and platforms both the Republican and the Democratic national party conventions flaunted the desires of Labor, the Republican convention in an arrogant manner; the Democratic convention by that evasiveness which is the customary mark of insincerity.

There remains the candidacy of Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler, the first an independent Republican; the second an independent Democrat, running as such.

These candidates have proffered a platform in which the economic issues of the day are met in a manner more nearly conforming to Labor's proposals than any other platform.

This platform pledges a remedy for the injunction evil.

It pledges the right to organize and collectively to cease work.

It pledges protection of the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

It pledges abolishment of the Railroad Labor Board.

It pledges a measure to annul the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws permanently unconstitutional.

It declares for direct election of president and vice-president and election of federal judges.

It recommends prompt ratification by the states of the child labor constitutional amendment.

It pledges subsequent federal legislation to protect child life.

On international issues this platform does not conform to Labor's proposals but it does more fully than any other political platform meet Labor's views in relation to domestic economic issues.

We can not do other than point out this fact, together with the further and perhaps more important fact that the candidates, Mr. *La Follette* and Mr. *Wheeler*, have throughout their whole political careers, stood steadfast in defense of the rights and interests of the wage earners and the farmers.

We can not fail to observe that both Republican and Democratic parties through manipulated control are in a condition of moral bankruptcy which constitutes a menace and a peril to our country and its institutions. Machine politicians have brought upon our country moral obliquity and unashamed betrayal. We are judging on the basis of the condition which exists and this judgment will be reversed only when the conditions upon which it is based are changed.

Service to the people is a noble cause which demands consecration and the American labor movement demands that there be that consecration in candidates to whom it gives its support.

Our course is clear. In pointing to the platform and records of the independent candidates, we do so with the confidence that no other course can be pursued if we are to remain true to our convictions and our traditions. Those who are hostile to labor and to the people generally and

who devoted their energies to the service of reaction and special interests must be opposed.

We call upon the wage earners and the great masses of the people everywhere who stand for freedom, justice, democracy and human progress to rally in this campaign to the end that the representatives of reaction and special interests may be defeated and the faithful friends and servants of the masses elected.

Cooperation hereby urged is not a pledge of identification with an independent party movement or a third party, nor can it be construed as support for such a party, group or movement except as such action accords with our non-partisan political policy. We do not accept government as the solution of the problems of life. Major problems of life and labor must be dealt with by voluntary groups and organizations of which trade unions are an essential and integral part. Neither can this cooperation imply our support, acceptance or endorsement of policies or principles advocated by any minority groups or organizations that may see fit to support the candidacies of Senator La Follette and Senator Wheeler.

In the campaign to elect men to Congress, regardless of their political group or party affiliation and deserving of Labor's support there must be unity of purpose and method, therefore leadership must lie with the only organization having the right to speak for the entire labor movement. In this the American Federation of Labor yields to none but will maintain steadfast its leadership, guidance and direction.

In the selection and election of men to public office within the several states leadership must lie with our state federations of labor and in city or county elections this right must rest with central labor bodies.

Organized labor owes allegiance to no political party or group. It is not partisan to any political party or group. It is partisan to principles—the principles of freedom, of justice, of democracy.

It is the duty of trade unionists, their friends and sympathizers, and all lovers of freedom, justice and democratic ideals and institutions to unite in defeating those seeking public office who are indifferent or hostile to the people's rights and interests. It is the duty of all to sup-

port such candidates to public office who have been fair, just and outspoken in behalf of the welfare of the common people.

We shall analyze the record and attitude of every aspirant to public office and shall give our findings the widest possible publicity. Labor's enemies and friends must be clearly known and be definitely indicated.

In calling upon all affiliated and recognized national and international and brotherhood organizations, state federations of labor, central labor bodies, local unions, labor's friends and sympathizers, to give united, unrestricted, loyal and active support to the non-partisan campaign now set in motion we emphasize the imperative need of an intensive educational campaign to enable all to act with discrimination and wisdom in this election and to stand faithfully by our friends and elect them and to oppose our enemies and to defeat them.

E. Enlargement of Non-Partisan Political Policy.

(Taken from Report of Executive Council, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1925, pp. 48-49.)

During the presidential campaign of 1924 Labor deviated somewhat from its former procedure in that it favored the exercise of every possible means for the purpose of making it easier for independent candidates to be placed on tickets in the various states.

The practice of the American Federation of Labor has been to investigate the labor records of all candidates in the primaries and support irrespective of party those most favorable to Labor and the people. After nominations are made the same procedure is followed in the elections.

Another suggestion growing out of that campaign was that the Executive Council should devise a plan to bring about the cooperation with the American Federation of Labor of other progressively-minded groups composed of persons who were not by reason of their occupations or stations in life eligible to membership in the trade union movement.

In summing up the non-partisan political history of the year the El Paso convention declared that for the American Federation of Labor to be true to its mission is must be as free from political party domination now as at any time

in its history. This means that the American Federation of Labor non-partisan political policy in the future will be along the usual definitely-outlined paths.

Legislative committees of the various central bodies and local unions will during the campaigns automatically become non-partisan political campaign committees.

In conducting all non-partisan political campaigns the American Federation of Labor will maintain control within itself of the decisions to be made and the procedure to be followed. The Executive Council, however, believes that it should accept the support that is freely given of any group that has for its purpose the carrying out of the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the El Paso convention that the non-partisan political campaign activities should be extended to the women voters in general is most practical. The Executive Council believes this should be accomplished through the rank and file of the local unions and the working women in industry. Members of trade unions and their sympathizers should urge the women members of their families to vote both in the primaries and in the elections. They also should be urged to extend their solicitation to the women who sympathize with the efforts of Labor to elect candidates who will be true to the people.

It has been apparent for several years, and attention was called to it by the Executive Council at the El Paso convention, that it is found difficult in some states to carry out the non-partisan policy in voting. Some ballots have many names upon them and under different party designations. A believer in the non-partisan principle may desire to vote for candidates on several tickets. The desire is often defeated by the rules covering the marking of ballots which in various states are not uniform.

It is recommended that all state federations of labor and city central bodies make a study of the laws in their respective states covering the primaries and elections in order, if necessary, to secure legislation that will make them more responsive to the will of the people.

They are also urged to devise ways and means of educating the people as to the proper way of marking the sometime extensive ballots. After such investigation the officials of state federations of labor and central bodies are

requested to communicate with the President of the American Federation of Labor in order that he may if necessary give such advice as will be helpful in changing the laws to make it less difficult to mark ballots intelligently.

It has been noticeable in the last few years that influential men in the dominant political parties are conducting a campaign to abolish primary elections. The object is to return to the old nominating system by which candidates were selected in conventions composed of delegates chosen by political bosses. These efforts have been defeated in several states, but the agitation will not be discontinued on that account. There is no doubt that the campaign for this purpose will be kept up for years, and it will demand the most careful watchfulness of voters to prevent such a revolutionary backward step.

State federations of labor and city central bodies are urged to enter most vigorous protest where any attempt is being made to abolish the primary elections. The primaries were established for the purpose of giving the people the right to say who shall be nominees for public office. The convention system, on the other hand, takes out of the hands of the people the selection of candidates and gives it to a few persons.

CHAPTER XXXIV

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY ACTION (MINORITY VIEWPOINT)

A. Independent Political Party Action as a Future Development.

(Taken from Report of Committee on Resolutions,
A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1913, p. 315)

The time has not yet arrived when, with due regard to the economic movement still young and hopeful in organization, a distinct labor political party should be formed.

We are confident that, when our present political activities have suitably matured, a new political party will be the logical result, a party in which will be amalgamated the reform and humanitarian forces, which will represent and stand for the protection and supremacy of human rights, giving legislative expression to the sound economic and political position that the producers of wealth are entitled to the full share of the value thereof, and as opposed to a party in which may be found the forces representing and holding supreme the so-called rights of property, and whose legislative goal would be the guarantee of continuation of the system which puts the dollar above humanity.

We are hopeful that in such a development there will be continued a greater activity to organize the unorganized into their respective or new unions, and that in their federated relationship general political activity will be given constant and ever-increasing attention, so that with the more complete organization of labor in the economic field there will be safer and greater opportunities for the creation and formation of a political labor party, or a party pledged to the conservation of human rights, whatever the party's name might be.

For the present we recommend continuation and development of labor's non-partisan political position, namely, that the program and policy declared by the American Federation of Labor, as authorized by its conventions, through the Executive Council and the organized workers throughout the country, be reaffirmed, and we urge that this program and policy be pursued in subsequent campaigns.

To our fellow workers and fellow citizens all over North America we also urge that organized labor's slogan should live in its deeds—stand faithfully by our friends and oppose our enemies, and that members of trade unions be nominated and elected to municipal, county, state, federal and dominion offices.

B. Workers Must First Learn to Vote for Trade Unionists.
(Taken from "Organized Labor in Politics," in *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, October, 1916, p. 1028)

There are numerous and conflicting opinions as to what the attitude of trade unions should be toward politics; many contending labor organizations have no place in politics, that trade unionists should be permitted to cast their votes as their conscience dictates, without interference on the part of anyone, while others vehemently declare that trade unions should enter politics. They aver that it is inconsistent for organized labor to stand shoulder to shoulder fighting labor's battle in the industrial world 364 days in the year, and then become divided, a disintegrated body, on the 365th day, the day above all when they should present a united front toward the common enemy, the capitalistic class. There are others who believe that organized labor should not only enter politics, but should actually become political in character.

With the first and last aforementioned class we can not agree. We believe that organized labor should interest itself in matters political. We disagree, however, with those who desire to inject politics into the labor movement. Some will ask, What is the difference between these two lines of thought? The difference is very pronounced. In our opinion, we have not yet reached that stage in our economic development where organized labor can afford to

be other than non-partisan in character, as far as political parties are concerned. Therefore, it is our judgment that any attempt to turn labor organizations over to any political party would not only be dangerous, but actually disastrous to organized labor. The trade unions would then become political instead of economic in character.

The time may come—yes, we believe it will come—when there will be a labor party in this country. However, that time has not yet arrived.

We have three political parties in this country, each of which claims to be the workingman's party. The Republican party facetiously announces in a patronizing way that its sole mission is to protect the American workman from foreign competition. The Democratic party claims that its great ambition is to ameliorate the condition of the toiler; while the Socialist party claims *it* is the workingman's party, and if placed in power, would end all of his troubles. All of these parties are now making frantic appeals to the workers for their votes. The two old parties are at each other's throats, engaged in a battle royal. The Socialists are plodding along, patiently biding the time, which they believe will surely come, when Socialism will predominate; theirs is a campaign of education. And it is only fair to state that each of the two old parties have stolen, or at least accepted, many principles for which the Socialists stand and which a few years ago were declared by both of the old parties to be revolutionary in character and dangerous to our form of government.

What, then, should be the political policy of organized labor? In our judgment the only policy we can afford to pursue at this time is that of exerting every possible influence toward electing, or reelecting, to office those who are known to be friendly to organized labor. What is needed at this time is an increased number of trade unionists in our legislative bodies. With a labor group of fifty or sixty men in Congress, who would hold the balance of power, labor's interests would be protected at all times.

Let the American workman abandon the idea that he must be represented in our legislative bodies by lawyers, bankers, or business men, and elect representatives from our own ranks; men who know the needs of the worker. Then we would be in a position to not only demand but

obtain that freedom and justice which have so long been denied those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow.

Every worker, therefore, whether he be a member of organized labor or not, should take a real and lively interest in the coming elections. Look up the records of those soliciting your vote. Ask those who seek your support what they have to offer in return; and when election day arrives, go to the polls and vote for those who are pledged to protect labor's interests, disregarding party politics. Elect your friends. Defeat your enemies.

C. Workers Must Organize Politically as well as Industrially.

(Taken from "Independent Politics," in *Upholsterers' Journal*, February, 1924, p. 264)

The recent convention of the Upholsterers' International Union went on record to instruct the General Executive Board to make a thorough study of independent political action and report back to the next Convention.

Since the Seamen's Act, Clayton Act, Child Labor Law and many other laws beneficial to labor have been declared unconstitutional, it seems to be quite imperative for labor to go into politics as an independent body, rather than to continue to divide its strength between the old political parties and getting nowhere. Legislation has a very vital bearing on the conditions of the working people in the United States and therefore a Labor Party must be organized embracing all who perform useful work in society.

The United States is the only industrially developed country in the civilized world where the workers have not built a strong political party of their own. To create a real third party is no easy task, for the mass of the workers in America have never been trained to show their solidarity at the polls.

Year after year they divide their votes between the Republican and Democratic Parties thereby keeping the enemies of labor perpetually in office. The opportunity for a real Labor Party was never better. The importance of workers in politics was never more apparent and the need never more urgent. With the cooperation of the

farmers in every state, political success can readily be achieved, and more than a million members be added to the industrial organization.

Labor's aims and aspirations are to get something more than merely a bare living or existence in this world.

Furthermore, if the workers want to be a constructive force in society, they must organize politically as well as industrially. Political power properly used is just as important to the workers as industrial power. Without it we are like the man who attempts to ward off the blows of his two fisted enemies by using one arm. We live in a world of collective and cooperative effort where no one is sufficient unto himself. Therefore it must be admitted that we must cooperate not only industrially, but politically as well, in order to reach our goal of industrial freedom.

D. Independent Political Party Action Only Feasible Solution.

(Taken from Communication from a member, signed "Cert. 3158," in *Railroad Telegrapher*, February, 1922, p. 145)

Labor has not and will not gain anything by keeping aloof from politics. It seems to me the time is ripe for the formation of a political labor party in the United States.

Politics is vital to Labor, because the control of government will always be held by the opponents and oppressors of Labor, until Labor takes a hand. There are parties claiming to represent Labor, but there should be but one name for a party properly representing Labor, and that is the Labor Party.

At the last election the only thing to do was vote for the "friends of Labor," but that was a mighty poor alternative to voting for the candidates of the Labor Party, and there was no assurance that they would continue to be the friends of labor.

It was a most weak-kneed policy, a policy that would have been unnecessary had Labor made any attempts at organization in the political field.

Where the right men are selected as candidates, the Labor Party will always draw a large number of unorganized votes; as witness the splendid success and position

of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, it being predicted by other than Labor supporters that they will carry the country in the event of a general election.

The primary object of a Labor Party is protection, and if that object is adhered to they will soon have the confidence of the people, and will be given control, which they certainly have as much right to as the interests at present in power.

Canada is laying the foundation for a Labor Party, two Laborites having been recently elected to the House of Commons, while there are a number of Labor representatives in the various legislatures and civic offices.

There would certainly be some protection from the rampages of the Railway Labor Board if Labor were properly organized politically.

Labor is universal, and eventually there will be a Labor Party in every country. Organized Labor should be the originators, and should largely, though not wholly, control the party.

There are plenty of intelligent Trade Unionists whose services could be not better employed than politically in the interests of Labor; men who are naturally quite as bright and intelligent as any of our opponents, and who in this manner would be doing a real service to Labor, a service from the heart, as well as the head.

Delay means disaster, and the result will be that Labor will be as disorganized next election as it was at the last.

CHAPTER XXXV

ENCROACHMENTS UPON LABOR'S RIGHTS AND POWERS

A. Man is Not Beast Nor Bundle of Sticks.

(Taken from "Man is Not Beast Nor Bundle of Sticks," by Matthew Woll, in *International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union Journal*, March, 1924, p. 9-10)

Most of our economic, industrial and political difficulties of today may safely be attributed to a fundamental error underlying our whole social structure. Politically we declare that men are all born free and equal, and possessed of inalienable rights and that among these are life, freedom and pursuit of happiness. Actually we adhere to an economic theory that makes the possessors of wealth the masters of those unpossessed of wealth by denying those dispossessed of the world's goods their common and inalienable right to freedom of associating with each other in the pursuit of life and happiness.

This enslavement of the masses is accomplished by no other means than the perpetuity of the economic theory that labor, the ability to toil, is nothing more nor less than a commodity or article of trade, and as such must be governed and controlled as we would dispose of beasts of burden or of inanimate objects. Because a man may acquire property or wealth by his labor we erroneously conclude that labor is a property and not a personal right. Because a man may acquire wealth by the labor of others, we hold to the idea that the employer of labor has a property right in the worker. Thus we perpetuate an inhuman system of economics and through a purely material concept we place man and beast upon the same basis. It is because of this that we find our courts, our legislatures, employers and all confounding

humanity with material and inanimate things and sanctifying property over personal rights.

What is labor? The employment of the power to labor. But the power to labor is nothing else than the man himself, in so far as he employs body, mind and heart—for all these must cooperate in every kind of work for the acquisition of economic goods. Labor is accordingly nothing else than the use of the man himself.

Out of this springs an important difference between labor and all other commodities. This difference exists in that every minute in which the power of labor is used is irreparably lost. In the time in which labor might have been performed, but is not, the labor is also lost. Accordingly, labor, as a product of time, cannot be preserved. In the absolute inseparability of labor from the person of its seller, accordingly consists the essential characteristic by which labor is distinguished from all other commodities.

But aside from this there is regularly found a peculiarity connected, the person who labors, which, if it does not also belong to labor, facilitates the introduction of the effects connected with the peculiarity of commodities and even reinforces these effects. As a rule, the wage earner has little more than to sustain life, except the sale of his labor. If, then, seller of similar labor he must compete with them he is compelled to accept whatever wage or other employment stipulation may be exacted from him. And what is more, with this control every other control over himself passes into the hands of the buyer of labor. With every contract for the sale of labor, the buyer takes for himself complete possession of the person of the worker and determines what he shall do and abstain from doing. This relation is not for a moment; in the majority of cases it is at least for days, regularly for weeks and sometimes it is for a longer period.

This dependence of the wage earner's person upon the purchase of the buyer of his labor, makes itself felt in all the relations of the wage earner, because the purchaser of labor, under the commodity doctrine, gives an authority over the entire person of the worker. And it is because this commodity doctrine underlies all our industrial and political manifestations that we experience the constant friction in our economic and social structure. It is upon this com-

commodity doctrine that our courts base their injunctions in industrial disputes and it is upon this commodity doctrine that the legal fiction of conspiracy is founded.

The trades unions hold that a contract for the sale of labor does not give the buyer of labor complete control over the person who has contracted for the sale of his labor and that the buyer does not acquire a property right in the wage earner. Then, too, the trades unions seek to retain control over the worker in himself by placing him on an equal footing with the purchaser. Fundamentally, the trades unions hope to destroy the commodity doctrine which makes of the workers economic slaves, and places them on a par with the lowest beast of burden and inanimate objects. It is evident that it is of the greatest importance as to who shall determine the stipulations entering into the contract for the sale of labor power, for he who fixes these terms, likewise determines the degree and kind of authority that will control the entire existence of the wage earner.

Unless and until we impregnate our social, political and economic structure with a human economic doctrine, that will recognize all men as equal and safeguard them in their inalienable rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, we shall ourselves as a nation and as a people constantly engage in an internal and industrial struggle. If we hope to make this a nation of free men, we must first destroy the commodity doctrine which makes the possessors of wealth the masters over the masses.

B. Repressive Legislation Curbing Legitimate Trade Union Action Does not Minimize Industrial Unrest.

(Taken from "Labor Wants Justice," by Matthew Woll, reprinted from *New York Globe*, in *American Photo Engraver*, September, 1920, pp. 453-5)

It is evident that, as the workers become more conscious of their economic power and proceed to organize into trade unions so that they may use their full economic strength in the industrial field, new methods are devised to limit or outlaw their activities and restrict them in the exercise of their personal and collective rights. These devices take the form of new and more restrictive interpretations by the courts upon old laws, by the enactment of new laws purporting to protect the public against the so-

called tyranny of a minority group under the body politic and by promoting counter forms of organizations of workers intended to array groups of wage earners one against another, thereby diverting their time and attention from the real culprit.

There have been altogether too many schemes to cripple and shackle labor, and not enough constructive undertakings to insure justice to labor. What Congress has failed to do toward curbing profiteering it has made up in seeking to curb labor. The Esch-Cummins law, while not as daring in its essentials as the Kansas plan, makes it practically impossible for labor to use the strike threat to improve conditions. Under this law railroad men are virtually unable to secure wage increases except by application to the Railroad Labor Board, and the Railroad Labor Board is expressly forbidden to consider wage increases while a strike is in progress.

The Esch-Cummins law, like the Kansas industrial relations law, manifests a special and peculiar interest in the rights of dividends and profits. Both laws make liberal allowances for the protection of profits and dividends. To guarantee these profits and dividends the guaranteed rights of the wage-earners are confiscated.

But after all, what have these attacks accomplished? Have they minimized or aggravated industrial unrest? Is it not true that these onslaughts upon the rights of the wage-earners have engendered a more extensive and intensive industrial suspicion and friction? As a matter of fact these constant efforts of encroachment upon the wage-earners' rights have indicated more clearly and convincingly to the workers that if they are to preserve their liberties and to maintain inviolate their constitutional and personal rights, they must not only rely upon but must exercise their economic power to its full strength and influence. The workers have come to realize more keenly than ever heretofore that if they are to be protected in the full exercise of their rights and liberties they must use the economic power that is inherent in them.

The wage-earners of America are not willing that the present relationship of employer and employe, founded as it is on the doctrine of contractualism, shall revert back to a state of serfdom, of slavery, of compulsory service under

conditions of work fixed by dictum of courts and judges or commissions. To the contrary, they demand that the industrial relationship shall be predicated on voluntary cooperation and goodwill. The American wage-earners do not seek autocracy; they demand a greater degree of democracy. They do not seek industrial license; they demand industrial liberty and equality.

C. Compulsory Incorporation Would Cut Into Heart of Unions.

(Taken from "Incorporate Would Chain Unions to Federal Courts," by John P. Frey, in *International Molders' Journal*, February, 1922, p. 59)

Trade-union incorporation is demanded by modern feudalists and their retainers, who insist that as "capital" (they mean capitalists) is incorporated, trade unions should do likewise, that they "may be held responsible for their acts."

This reasoning indicates the low value greed places on the people's intellectual capacity.

Corporations are not formed for the purpose of being "held responsible." The purpose is to evade liability.

Under the partnership form of doing business each partner can contract debts in the name of the company and all other partners are liable for the full amount. The property in the partnership can be seized for debt, and if this is not sufficient the other property of each partner can be seized.

Under the corporation form of doing business this danger is removed. An officer of a corporation can contract debts in the name of the corporation, but only the property of the corporation is liable. The property of stockholders can not be seized, as in the case of partnerships.

In a partnership each partner has the fate of his associates in his hands. In a corporation the by-laws and constitution of the corporation define the limits of officials.

Corporation stockholders invest what they are willing to lose and can not be held for other damages.

Business men are not compelled to incorporate, but they do so because persons will invest money without being held responsible.

It is now proposed to compel trade unions to do what is optional with business man.

If trade unions were incorporated they would be constantly menaced by the receivership process whereby their property and treasury would be at the whim of hostile courts.

This danger to a corporation does not exist. Its activities are clearly defined in its charter.

The activities of a trade union can not be defined because it is a social institution. It can not be separated from the human beings who compose it. These human beings have memory, understanding and will, as distinguished from a commodity, in which corporations deal.

If a trade union were incorporated it could be thrown into court by any detective, spy or "company man" who is a member of the union, and a property-worshipping judge would decide that the union's activities are not sustained by its incorporation declarations.

With the changing of social viewpoints and the adoption of new methods to meet industrial situations, no militant trade union could function under this system of court espionage.

Aside from reasonable hours, wages and working conditions, which affect the national life, there are high moral reasons for the trade-union. The reasons for the corporation are efficiency, profits and limited liability.

The trade-union is inseparably linked with each individual member of the union. The success of the union develops the intellectual and physical life of each member. The success of the corporation is judged by dividends.

If trade unions were incorporated national and international organizations would be under the jurisdiction of federal courts. This would permit injunction judges of the Anderson type to sit in judgment on a union's policies and ideals.

These are the reasons, rather than the professed purpose, why crafty feudalists and their defenders want trade-unions incorporated.

They would have the unions controlled by judges whose property bias blinds them to an expanding, developing life, who are choked by their legalisms and who are without social vision.

Let no organized worker be lulled by the claim that trade-union incorporators only desire unions to be held responsible.

Tyranny and wrong never makes direct attack. Its cards are never on the table face up. Its method is stealth, misrepresentation and flank attack. It says one thing and means another.

Organized labor does not shirk responsibility. And even if it did, it can be reached by criminal, civil and common law.

Our opponents know this full well. What they are now aiming at is the heart of trade-unionism. They would have their judicial tools pass on its activities, its purposes and aspirations.

They would kill the soul of the labor movement with their judicial dagger and wrap it in the dead parchment of court procedure, custom and judge-made law.

D. Labor Must Remove the Unjust Laws Which are Destructive of its Rights and Powers.

(Taken from "Labor Rights and Its Economic Power," an extract from President Gompers' Report to A. F. of L. Convention, November 14, 1910, in *Cigar Makers' Official Journal*, February 15, 1911, p. 18)

Essential to the welfare and independence of the masses is the free exercise of certain of their rights and powers in the economic field. This truth becomes clear to our minds when we consider it as applied to the individual possessing those rights and powers. Let a man have the right to decide when he is to work or is not to work, and let that decision be backed by his power to keep himself from being obliged by immediate necessity to offer his labor to an employer, and the consequence must be that he will not sell his labor-power until the terms offered him are the best that the industry can warrant. Similarly, when a number of associated persons may freely decide as to whether they shall work or not, and uphold that decision, they have in their hands the economic power to secure to themselves from the products of industry a share restricted only by industrial success.

In the mere statement of the conditions indicated by my

words there are suggested the reasons why Labor is compelled in present circumstances to engage in the political struggle. It is, in a word, in order to set itself free.

Labor is bound by the fetters of unjust laws. It is Labor's task to break those fetters one by one. The first to be removed are necessarily those which are the most painful, binding, and destructive of Labor's rights and powers.

There must in justice be no law, formulated by judge or lawmaker, which can deprive a wage-earner of his own exclusive ownership of himself, or, in other words, of those rights over his own labor-power which are guaranteed by the Constitution and the concepts of liberty implied in the fundamental principles of our Republic.

There must be no law which can deprive the laborer of his right or his power to purchase or to refrain from purchasing whatever is legitimately on sale in the community.

There must be an end to the untenable doctrine that a right pertaining to an individual singly becomes a wrong when exercised by him in combination with other individuals legally enjoying the same right singly.

These examples illustrate points at which the labor movement comes into contact with politics, since only by force of law-making can present laws be abrogated or the limits of law-making itself be outlined.

As the defense of rights, manifestly varying in their scope with respect to men, women, and children, and in times of peace or war, is the legitimate domain of government, so the defense of those rights which peculiarly bear upon the wage-earner is inevitably the especial concern of the labor movement. I am impressed with the conviction, however, that with the free exercise of the rights which will leave untrammelled the regular and recognized functions of trade unionism, the workers of this country will move forward by leaps and bounds to a general condition of unexampled welfare. With those rights in full play they will be possessed of the economic power to enable themselves to push forward to greater successes, to justice, freedom, and a better humanity, the goal of Labor's aspirations.

CHAPTER XXXVI

LABOR AND THE COURTS

A. Government by Judicial Oligarchy Indefensible.

(Taken from Report of Special Committee on the Question: Shall the Courts Protect Labor in Preference to Property? A. F. of L. *Proceedings*, 1922, pp. 371-2)

The American people are facing a critical situation. Their very existence as a democracy and a government of law is at stake. A judicial oligarchy is threatening to set itself up above the elected Legislatures, above the people themselves.

Profiting by the unsettled industrial conditions of the country and the political apathy of the people, which have followed upon the conclusion of the World War, the forces of privilege and reaction have embarked upon a concerted and determined campaign to deprive the citizens of their constitutional liberties, to break down the standards of life which the American workers have laboriously built up in generations of suffering and struggle, and to emasculate or destroy their most effective weapon of resistance and defense—the labor unions.

Side by side with the implacable anti-union drive conducted by powerful organizations of employers throughout the country, who exercise their own unquestioned right to organize and yet brazenly deny their employes the same right, the unblushing subservience of many public officials to the dictates of big business and their undisguised contempt for the interests of the workers, the courts of the country, and particularly the Supreme Court of the United States, have within recent years undertaken to deprive American labor of fundamental rights and liberties which

heretofore have been accepted as deeply and organically ingrained in our system of jurisprudence.

Over a century ago Thomas Jefferson said:

"It has long been my opinion, and I have never shrunk from its expression, that the germ of dissolution of our Federal Government is in the judiciary—the irresponsible body working like gravity, by day and by night, gaining a little today and a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless steps like a thief over the field of jurisprudence until all shall be usurped."

The prophetic warning of the great champion of American democracy threatens to come true.

What confronts the workers of America is not one of the several casual Court decisions favoring the interests of property as against the human rights of labor, but a series of adjudications of the highest tribunal in the land, successively destroying a basic right or cherished acquisition of organized labor, each forming a link in a fateful chain consciously designed to enslave the workers of America.

Five years ago a severe blow was dealt by the Supreme Court decision in the notorious case of the *Hitchman Coal & Coke Company vs. Mitchell*, which seriously limited the right of organized labor to unionize establishments. The decision did not receive the condemnation it justly deserved because public attention was almost exclusively centered on the World War.

On January 3, 1921, the Supreme Court in the case of the *Duplex Printing Press Company vs. Deering* practically nullified the portions of the Clayton Act which were intended to safeguard the rights of labor in industrial disputes and to limit the power of the courts to decide such disputes by summary injunctions, thus striking down with one fell stroke the result of unceasing agitation of organized labor which had extended over twenty years, and was designed to equalize before the law the position of workers and employes.

In December, 1921, the Supreme Court, by its decision in the case of *Truax vs. Corrigan* set aside as unconstitutional a state law which limited the power of the courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes, thus frustrating the efforts of labor in all industrial states to secure relief from the arrogated authority of the courts.

In the same month the court in the case of *American Steel Foundries vs. Tri-City Central Trades Council* virtually abolished the right of striking workers to picket, no matter how peaceably; authorized the courts arbitrarily to regulate the conduct of strikes and set up a rule limiting strikers to the stationing of one "missionary" in front of each entrance to the struck establishment—one striking "missionary" to persuade hundreds or even thousands of strike-breakers of the iniquity of their course. What a mockery upon the acknowledged rights of the workers on strike to win over would-be strike-breakers by pleading and persuasion.

On May 15, 1922, the Supreme Court set aside as unconstitutional the Child Labor Law, which had been enacted after years of agitation on the part of the most forward-looking and humane elements of our citizenship.

On June 5, 1922, the Supreme Court handed down a unanimous opinion in the case of the *United Mine Workers of America vs. Coronado Coal Co.*, which in effect opens the way for a general raid upon union funds, by holding that labor funds are usable as such and liable for damages to employers if caused by unlawful acts on the part of any of their striking members, whether such acts are authorized or not, so long as the strike is sanctioned by the union.

Thus by six decisions the Supreme Court of the United States, composed of nine men without direct mandate from the people and without responsibility to the people, has set aside a congressional enactment which clearly expressed the will of the vast majority of the people, and all but outlawed the activities of organized labor, which alone can protect the workers from the oppression and aggression of greedy and cruel interests.

This despotic exercise of a usurped power by nine men, or a bare majority of them, over the lives of millions of men, women and children, is intolerable. With the immortal Lincoln we believe that—

"That people of these United States are the masters of both Congress and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution." (Speech at Cincinnati, September 17, 1859.)

We are determined to preserve our rights as workers, citizens and freemen, and we call upon all fair-minded and

liberty-loving citizens to unite with us in a determined effort to deprive the courts of the despotic powers which they have assumed, and to make our Government in full measure a government of the people, for the people and by the people.

B. Injunctions in Labor Disputes An Unwarranted Usurpation of Power.

(Taken from "Equality Before the Law—A Message from Labor," by Victor A. Olander, in *Shoe Workers' Journal*, March, 1921, p. 3)

Equality before the law is an essential element of justice. It is denied to labor. During the past quarter of a century a practice [has arisen] of restricting working people in the exercise of their personal rights by means of arbitrary proclamations issued by judges at the behest of employers. In these injunction cases labor is always the defendant. The position of complainant is reserved exclusively for the employer. It is impossible for working people to secure similar injunctions against employers. Neither can one employer secure such injunctions against another employer. This process as affecting personal relations and personal rights is reserved for use against working people during strikes. In all other cases the injunction judge refuses to interfere in questions of personal relations and personal rights and limits his activities to the domain of property and property rights. If one business man by the exercise of his rights of free speech and free press interferes with the success of another business man, the injunction judge will take no action. But the same judge will, without even the formality of a hearing, unhesitatingly issue an order restraining thousands of working people from exercising personal rights specifically guaranteed by the Constitution, when in the opinion of the employer involved, stated to the judge in the form of an affidavit, the business of the employer is in any way affected.

Such action by the courts has never been sanctioned by any legislature. It is a clear and unwarranted usurpation of power. Until it is ended there can be no equality before the law, except on the basis that these kinds of injunctions do not represent law and are, therefore, illegal. That is undoubtedly true, but the usurpation of power on

the part of injunction judges has now become so general that it is rapidly taking the form of established law through court decisions, and can only be remedied by an act of the legislature. Congress has restricted the power of the federal judges in this respect. Similar action must be taken by the states to limit the powers of state judges.

When this is done, the employing class of our country will have some right to declaim against the philosophy of class dictatorship, which they now claim to fear, but which in reality they are actually practicing in partnership with injunction judges. It is the most vital problem now confronting the people of America. The injunction process as used against working people on strike—never used in any other case—has for its purpose the weakening and final destruction of the trade union movement, and the setting up of an industrial dictatorship by the great corporate interests of the country. To accomplish this end, the reactionary employers, after having secured the aid of the courts, now demand the assistance of the legislature, and aided by notoriety seeking politicians, are endeavoring to establish and to secure the enactment of anti-strike and compulsory arbitration laws, in an effort to fasten the American workman to his job, and thus to re-introduce a form of serfdom very similar to that which existed during the feudal ages in Europe. The injunction judges have paved the way for this by declaring in attempted justification of their illegal usurpation of power, that "Labor is property" and is, therefore, a proper subject of injunction. Labor is an attribute of life, inseparable from man. It cannot be property unless man himself is property. It cannot be bartered or sold except as man is bartered and sold. In the interest of human freedom, our courts and our legislatures must be made to understand the difference between human labor—which is man exercising his life functions—and the products of human labor. Human labor is human life, and cannot be property unless the man is a slave. The product or result of labor becomes property, but not labor itself. The sole purpose of slavery was to compel some men by force of law to labor for the service of others. The object of anti-strike and compulsory arbitration laws is also to compel some men, by force of law, to labor for the service of others. In each case the principle

is the same, and equality before the law is denied to one group of men in the interest of the other.

C. Rights and Privileges Enjoyed by Owners of Capital Must Not be Denied to Labor.

(Taken from "What Labor Expects from the Courts," by John P. Frey, in *American Federationist*, March, 1916, pp. 185-8)

Those who control the mechanisms by which the labor of others can be converted into profits and wages, have for centuries given their attention, and with much success, to the enactment of legislation which would safeguard their property and enable them to so use and apply it as to secure still more. Paralleling this there has been a construction placed upon such legislation by the judiciary and an application of these interpretations of the law by the courts which have given the owners of capital as great a protection to their property and to the rights of this property as the resource of the human intellect could provide for.

Not many centuries ago the laborer was a slave or a serf and much legislation was enacted by the owners of capital or land to protect their property rights as they conceived them to be, from the efforts which their laborers were making to secure a larger measure of personal and industrial freedom.

This legislation was interpreted by the courts as an almost invariable rule so as to give the fullest protection to property and property rights, and in a manner which prevented the human rights of the laborer—his right to have a voice in the industrial bargain—to interfere with or injure the property rights of the employer or exploiter of labor.

From these judicial decisions there was developed a mass of precedents upon which the common law relating to Labor was founded, and through the same legislative and judicial channels this common law was further developed and strengthened to protect property rights when the factory system developed. It was not until 1824 that the laws making labor organizations illegal conspiracies were repealed in Great Britain, but even today there seems to be an opinion found in many courts that a collective action by workmen striving to secure industrial justice,

aiming to elevate their standard of living or defending themselves from the aggressions of the owners of capital, is an illegal conspiracy. Furthermore, the decisions of some of our American courts have tended to create class distinctions, granting rights and opportunities to the owners of the tools, buildings, land and capital which are denied to the wage-earners.

Employers have the judicially supported right to discharge workmen singly or in groups, to lock them out; they enjoy the right to organize and through their organization lockout the workmen in all of their plants because the employes in one have a dispute with a member of their association. They enjoy the right to force one of their members to refuse to grant a request for higher wages or some other condition of labor which he is willing to grant to his workmen because a majority of his fellow employers are opposed to the workmen's demand, but when under similar circumstances the trade unions endeavor to exercise an equivalent right they are liable to be punished for illegal coercion and are held to be unlawful conspirators.

One thing which Labor expects of the courts, and has a right to demand, is that whatever right the employer may enjoy a similar right shall not be denied to workmen.

Labor also contends that the courts in their interpretation and application of the law shall go still further and see to it that no unfair or preponderating advantage is given to any one of the groups into which our citizens are divided, so that no seeming equality before the law shall operate to the advantage of one group and the injury of another. The courts do not give equal protection by merely assuming that there is equality before the law. If the law says that an elephant may step upon a mouse no actual equality in practice has been established if the courts hold that the mouse shall have an equal opportunity of trampling upon the elephant. The abstract reasoning that if equal rights are given to both, justice has been done, fails to give the mouse any protection whatever.

As society and industry are organized today the individual is helpless. The problems which affect the several groups in society can only be worked out through collective effort, and Labor has the right to expect that as the industrial problems are being worked out, no right or privilege

will be allowed to any one group which is not fully granted to the others.

Labor believes that the courts should set aside as antiquated, impractical and unjust much of the common law based upon judicial precedents which were established at a time when the conception of the relationship between employers and workmen differed from what it is at present.

We have passed the time of owner and slave; the implication contained in the term "master and servant," as applied years ago is repugnant to our present conception of the workers' rights as free men and citizens.

The industrial condition today, which forces the workmen to depend upon the owners or controllers of tools and capital, for labor and wages differ as much from the former conditions which existed, as our steam railways contrast with the period when overland transportation was by stage-coach and turnpike. Instead of depending upon precedents handed down at a period when conditions were far different than at present, Labor expects of the American courts that they shall first of all make a study of the actual conditions affecting Labor today, and if necessary have the courage to establish precedents by their present decisions which will aim towards establishing equality of rights, privileges and opportunities under conditions which affect the workers today.

If the workers who compose the great mass of our people are to make progress, they must work out their salvation largely through their own initiative. They must abandon the individual effort as wholly inadequate, and instead use their efforts collectively. If they are to have an adequate voice in regulating the terms and conditions under which their labor is to be performed, they must do this through collective action; they must establish democracy in the industries so that government in the shop, like government in the nation, shall be through and by the consent of the governed.

Three great struggles have taken place among mankind to establish those conditions of liberty which would make men truly free. Religious liberty and political liberty have been firmly established in the progressive and civilized nations of the earth. Industrial liberty still remains more of a shadow than a substance for a large portion of the

wage-earners, and it is unfortunate that many of the wage-earners' efforts to establish a necessary degree of industrial liberty have been frustrated through judicial decisions which seemingly have for their foundation the belief that what Labor desired to accomplish in freeing itself, was an interference with or an injury to some property right of capital. Industrial democracy or industrial liberty, call it by any term we wish, the condition where the workmen's rights will be as sacredly protected as the rights of capital or property, is coming. It is at hand. Labor has the right to expect that our courts will assist rather than retard the growth and the application of the true principles of democracy in the industries.

TABLES AND CHARTS

VOTING STRENGTH OF UNIONS
AFFILIATED WITH THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF LABOR

(Voting Strength, Report of Secretary Frank Morrison, in Report of Executive Council, *A. F. of L. Proceedings*, 1924, pp. 12-14)

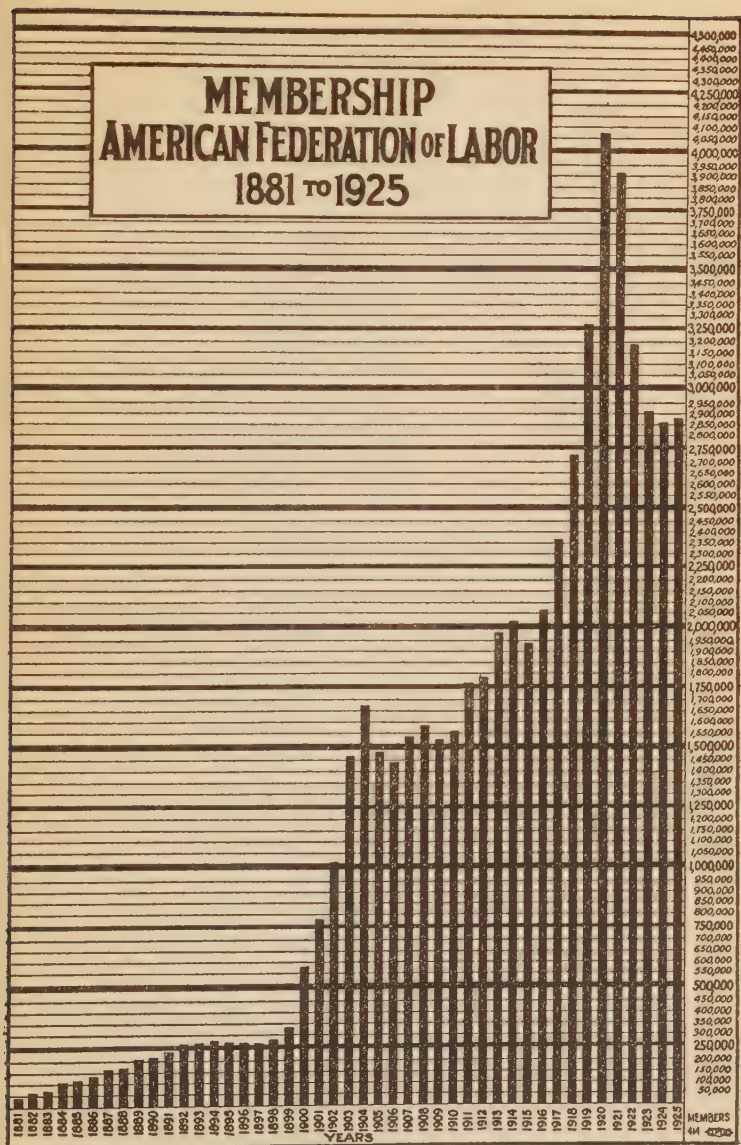
The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1916 up to and including 1924. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

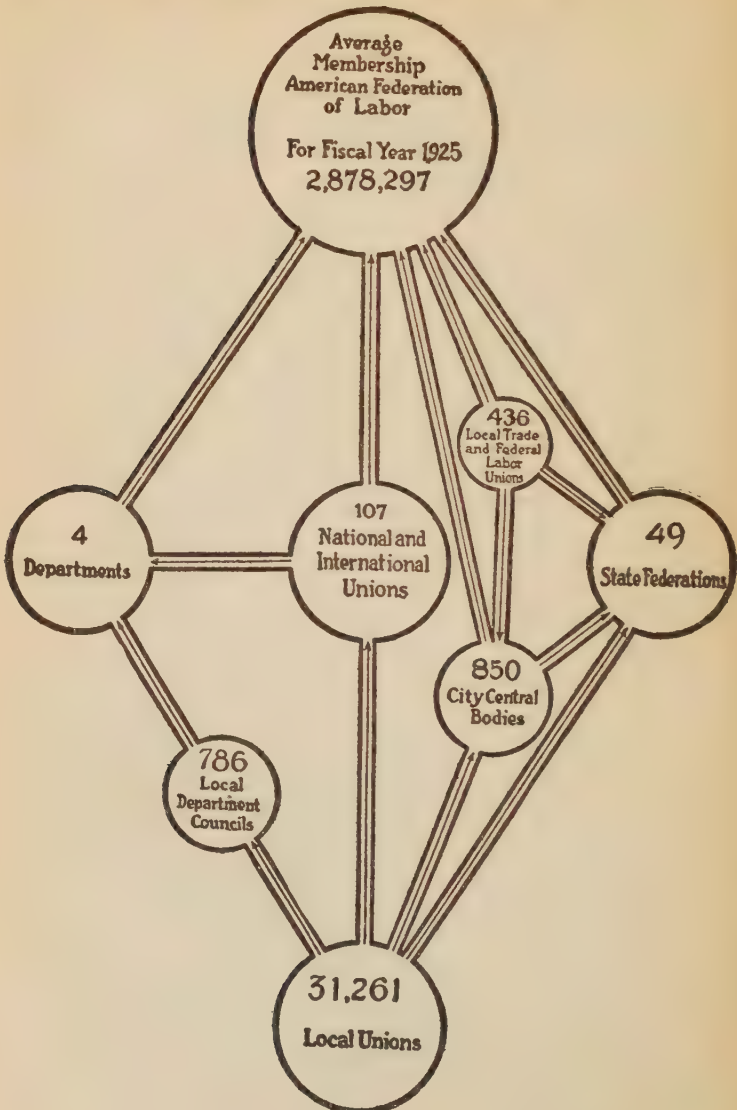
TABLE OF VOTING STRENGTH OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

ORGANIZATIONS	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.....		47	30	30	69	118	94	77	74
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assc. of Heat and Frost Insulators.....	90	10	16	18	22	26	20	20	22
Bakery and Confectionery Workers, I. U. of A.....	175	189	201	210	275	280	248	229	222
Barbers' International Union, Jour.....	359	398	384	359	442	470	452	432	453
Bill Posters.....	15	15	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	97	120	183	283	483	500	367	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.....	182	312	555	549	1030	845	417	194	175
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	390	396	358	368	467	410	402	399	372
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	93	114	145	161	207	247	163	129	134
Brewery Workmen, International Union.....	496	450	450	400	341	273	190	166	160
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.....	32	28	25	27	52	54	41	48	48
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' I. U. A.....		700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	100	7	160	170	242	199	140	146	177
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International.....	8	7	7	10	14	12	8	7	7
Brushmakers' International Union.....	2	2	2	++	++	++	++	++	++
Building Service Employees' International Union.....						8	94	78	62
Carpenters and Joiners, United Brotherhood of.....		2317	2673	3079	3315	3521	3138	3150	3155
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	40	42	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Carmen of A., Brotherhood Railway.....	308	390	534	1004	1821	2000	1717	1600	1375
Carvers' Union, International Wood.....	11	12	12	10	12	12	11	9	10
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	377	416	395	363	388	342	320	309	277
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	51	68	172	714	1860	1696	1378	961	884
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway Postal.....	27	150	150	150	208	212	167	103	100
Clerks, International Protective Association Retail.....	150	42	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Clerks, National Post-office.....	42	88	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....	63	16	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers.....	14	16	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....			7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Coopers' International Union.....			7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, International Union.....	36	39	40	40	12	25	26	23	23
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.....	3	2	2	2	43	44	28	17	15
Draftsmen's Union, International.....	3	4	4	5	6	6	5	++	++
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood.....	362	415	544	1312	35	22	10	6	6
					1392	1420	1420	1420	1420

	28	29	29	30	31	38	38	52	81
Elevator Constructors.....	.....	29	29	128	170	190	190	271	250
Engineers, B'n Association of U. S. and C., Nat. Mar.	210	220	230	250	320	320	320	2	1
Engineers, International Union of Steam.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	4	3	1	1
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	68
Engravers International Union, Metal.....	51	51	51	50	59	65	65	65	68
Engravers' Union of N. A., International Photo.....	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Express Messengers of A., Brotherhood of Railway.....	.....	81	109	204	385	330	250	212	208
Federal Employes, National Federation of.....	.....	.....	23	154	221	180	161	160	150
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	.....	.....	171	205	296	350	250	125	90
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	170	170	.....	.....	.....	.....	19	11	11
Fruit and Vegetable Workers of N. A., International Union of.....	.....	.....	33	54	91	52	40	40	36
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	8	13	100	108	121	45	47	92	89
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and C., International.....	57	81	459	460	459	472	475	476	475
Garment Workers of America, United.....	430	449	100	100	100	100	97	70	60
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of U. S. and C.....	100	100	99	95	99	97	87	81	61
Glass Workers, American Flint.....	94	98	7	50	48	50	50	50	40
Glass Workers, National Window.....	.....	.....	7	7	10	7	4	2	2
Glove Workers.....	10	8	7	7	10	7	4	2	2
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.....	2	8	119	107	105	105	100	95	86
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	131	125	91	100	105	115	115	115	115
Hatters of North America, United.....	85	85	367	400	420	460	460	475	490
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.....	324	324	54	54	54	54	25	20	20
Horsehoofers of United States and Canada.....	58	54	652	608	604	572	465	384	385
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc.....	590	646	161	197	315	254	159	117	111
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amalgamated Association.....	67	110	48	51	81	8	22	22	12
Jewelry Workers' International.....	53	43	38	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lace Operatives, Amalgamated.....	11	12	12	9	q	q	q	q	q
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.....	851	823	895	905	1054	941	939	912	910
Lathe Workers, International Union of Wood Workers and Metal.....	60	60	60	60	59	80	80	80	80
Laundry Workers, International Union.....	43	46	55	60	67	70	65	55	55
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....	18	k	.....	k	k	k	k	k	k
Leather Workers' International Union, United.....	.....	32	41	67	117	80	34	20	20
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	.....	25	305	307	325	325	325	325	325
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	16	10	6	3
Lithographers, International P. and B. Association.....	42	46	49	56	61	72	76	63	55
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	250	255	260	313	740	641	463	343	305
Machinists, International Association of.....	1009	1125	1436	2546	3308	2736	1809	973	779

ORGANIZATIONS	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.....	89	97	56	542	q	q	q	377	383
Marble, etc., International Association of.....	6	10	10	10	12	12	17	23	30
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....	40	43	48	62	71	91	55	41	41
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	73	96	291	663	653	439	196	104	115
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	175	176	183	202	218	242	250	250	250
Mine Workers of America, United.....	3180	3520	4134	3938	3936	4257	3729	4049	4027
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	161	179	167	178	211	162	48	81	91
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	500	500	500	516	573	585	265	321	336
Musicians, American Federation of.....	600	604	650	654	700	746	750	750	771
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....	.....	.....	.....	45	209	248	61	25	22
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	782	852	845	827	1031	1133	978	928	1033
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	52	64	60	57	74	107	83	70	62
Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	26	16	9	↑	↑
Patternmakers' League of North America.....	65	70	88	90	90	90	80	80	70
Pavers and Rammermen, International Union of.....	15	15	17	18	19	20	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. and C.....	33	33	32	26	26	24	24	24	24
Piano and Organ Workers, Union of America, International.....	10	15	20	20	32	27	9	7	6
Plasterers' International Association of U. S. and C. Oper.....	184	190	190	190	194	239	246	252	300
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	320	320	320	320	320	319	350	350	350
Polishers, International Union Metal.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	82	67	60
Post Office Clerks, National Federation of.....	.....	81	101	145	162	170	178	180	200
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	77	76	78	74	80	91	92	91	83
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	3	3	4	3	3	2	2	3	2
Printing Pressmen, International.....	290	330	340	340	350	370	370	370	387
Printers' Union of N. A., I. S. and C. Plate.....	12	13	13	13	14	15	15	12	12
Printers and Color Mixers, Machine.....	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Print Cutters' Association of America, National.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	5	5
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers.....	44	65	80	84	95	113	68	46	50
Quarry Workers, International.....	35	35	31	30	30	30	30	24	29
Railway Employees' Amalgamated Association, S. and E.....	645	737	786	897	987	1000	1000	1000	1000
Railway Mail Association.....	.....	.....	94	134	144	450	166	167	179
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	12	12	12	10	18	28	30	30	30
Sawmills' National Union.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	↑
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	217	322	371	427	659	1033	492	179	180
Sideographers, International Association of.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Brotherhood Railroad.....	9	8	9	62	123	113	105	89	80
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	5





AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR REPORT OF EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL, A. F. OF L. PROCEEDINGS, 1925.

WHO'S WHO

AMERINGER, OSCAR

Former member of Knights of Labor and American Federation of Musicians. Author of *Socialism—What it is* (1908) and *Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam* (1909). Former editor of a number of labor papers and editor of *The Illinois Miner* since 1922.

BRUNSON, HARTWELL L.

Machinist. Held various official positions with Federated Shop Crafts and International Association of Machinists. Former Field Secretary of Workers Education Bureau of America.

CLARKE, WILLIAM P.

Flint glass worker. Held various official positions with American Flint Glass Workers of America and has been president of the same since 1916. Author of many articles and speeches on labor matters.

COHN, FANNIA M.

Took part in revolutionary movements in Russia. Came to America in 1904 and engaged in Garment industry; active since that time in International Garment Workers' Union. Writer of numerous articles for labor journals. Vice-Pres. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union since 1916 and secretary educational department of the same since 1917. Member Executive Committee of Workers Education Bureau. Member of Labor Cooperating Committee Brookwood Labor College.

CONLON, PETER J.

Machinist. Vice Pres. International Association of Machinists with charge of organizing department since 1921. Author of numerous articles on labor matters.

CONWAY, H. J.

Secy-treas. Retail Clerks' International Protective Assn.; Editor and manager Retail Clerks' International Advocate.

COSGROVE, JOHN T.

Carpenter. Member United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and Vice-Pres. of same.

DAVISON, EMMETT C.

Machinist. Secy-treas. International Association of Machinists since 1917; Vice-Pres. Mt. Vernon Savings Bank since 1920; Secy-treas. Hampton Roads Ship Repair Corp. since 1922; pres. Potomac Holding Corporation since 1923. Extensive writer on labor subjects.

FECHNOR, ROBT.

Machinist. Member International Assn. of Machinists; Board Member of same.

FOSTER, FRANK K.

Printer. Former Member of International Typographical Union; one of the early secretaries of the American Federation of Labor.

FREY, JOHN P.

Iron molder. Editor *Iron Molders' Journal* since 1903. President, Ohio State Federation of Labor since 1924. Prominent in A. F. of L. activities. Lecturer and writer on labor matters. Author of *Scientific Management and Labor*, 1915; *The Labor Injunction*, 1923; Member Executive Committee of Workers Education Bureau.

GOLDEN, CLINTON S.

Locomotive Fireman 1904-16, and machinist, 1916-20. Member of Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and later of International Association of Machinists. Field Agent Brookwood Labor College since 1924.

GOMPERS, SAMUEL

Cigarmaker. Member International Cigar Makers Union. Vice-President of same. President of the American Federation of Labor for forty-two years. Died in office.

GOOD, N. P.

Machinist. Member International Association of Machinists.

GREEN, WILLIAM

Coal miner. Held various offices with United Mine Workers of America. Executive Council American Federation of Labor 1914-1924. President American Federation of Labor since Dec. 19, 1924.

HAYS, JOHN W.

Printer. Member of International Typographical Union since 1882 and Secy-treas. of the same since 1909. President Label Trades Dept., American Federation of Labor.

JEWELL, B. M.

Member International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; President, Railway Employes Department; American Federation of Labor.

JOHNSTON, WILLIAM H.

Machinist, President International Association of Machinists since 1911. Vice-President of Mt. Vernon Savings Banks since 1920.

MANION, EDWARD J.

Railroad telegrapher. Vice-pres. Order of R. R. Telegraphers 1913-9 and president of the same since 1919. President Telegraphers' National Bank since 1923.

MANNING, JOHN J.

Member United Garment Workers of America. Secy-Treas., Union Label Department of the A. F. of L.

MAURER, JAMES H.

Plumber. Member United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters. President of Pa. Federation of Labor since 1912, of Labor Age Publishing Co. since 1922 and of Workers Education Bureau since 1921. Member Labor Co-operating Committee of Brookwood Labor College.

McANARNEY, HENRY A.

Machinist. Member International Association of Machinists.

McELWAIN, E.

Member Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks and Freight Handlers.

McGINLEY, JACOB

Member and organizer Amalgamated Assn. of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Union.

McLAUGHLIN, G. C.

Machinist. Member International Association of Machinists.

McMUNN, J. B.

Iron Molder. Member International Molders' Union of North America.

McNEILL, GEO. E.

Active in the labor movement as writer and lecturer during its formative period. Leader in early eight hour movements. Author: *The Labor Movement: The Problem of Today*, published in 1887.

MILLER, SPENCER, JR.

Member Teachers' Union. A. B. at Amherst, 1912; A. M. at Columbia, 1914. Has done extensive research work into labor conditions with various commissions. Author of a number of Publications on workers' education. Secretary, Workers Education Bureau.

MITCHELL, JOHN

Miner. Member United Mine Workers of America. Held various offices in and President of same; former Vice-Pres. American Federation of Labor.

MORRISON, FRANK

Printer. Member International Typographical Union. Secretary American Federation of Labor since 1897.

O'CONNELL, JAMES

Machinist. President International Association of Machinists, 1893-1911. Vice-Pres. American Federation of Labor, 1896-1912 and president of the metal trades dept. of same since 1911.

O'KEEFE, JOHN M.

Iron Molder. Member International Molders' Union of North America.

OLANDER, VICTOR A.

Held various offices in Sailors' Union of Great Lakes. Second Vice-Pres. International Seamen's Union of North America since 1902; Secretary, Illinois Federation of Labor.

PERKINS, GEO. W.

Pres. Cigarmakers' International Union of America and Editor Cigarmakers' Journal. Member Executive Committee Workers' Education Bureau.

PRICE, GEO. M.

Received M. D. degree N. Y. Medical College in 1895. Author of various publications on occupational hygiene. Director Joint Board of Sanitary Control in cloak, suit, skirt, dress and waist industries, New York City since 1910.

SWINTON, JOHN

Journalist. Editor *John Swinton's Paper*, 1883-1887, one of the influential labor papers.

VAN LEAR, THOMAS

Machinist. Member International Machinists' Union. Mayor of Minneapolis on Socialist ticket, 1917-18. Organized *Daily Star* in 1919.

WALKER, JOHN H.

Miner. Member United Mine Workers of America. Pres. Ill. Federation of Labor. Board of Directors Co-operative League of America.

WILLIAMS, DAVID

Machinist. Member International Assn. of Machinists, and Vice-Pres. of same.

WOLL, MATTHEW

President Board of Governors International Allied Printing Trades Association. President International Photo Engravers' Union of North America since 1906. 5th Vice-Pres. of American Federation of Labor. Member Executive Committee Workers Education Bureau of America.

LIST OF LABOR PUBLICATIONS

American Federationist

American Federation of Labor.

American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service

American Federation of Labor.

Amalgamated Journal, The

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers
of North America.

American Flint

American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

American Photo Engraver, The

International Photo Engravers' Union of North America.

Boilermakers' & Iron Ship Builders' Journal, The

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship-
builders and Helpers of America.

Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer, The

Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union.

Carpenter, The

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners.

Cigar Makers' Journal, The

Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

Granite Cutters' Journal

Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

Headgear Worker, The

Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International
Union.

International Labor News Service

International Labor Press of America.

International Molders' Journal

International Molders' Union of North America.

Illinois Miner, The

District 12, United Mine Workers of America.

International Steam Engineer

International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union Journal

International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America.

Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators, The
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Justice

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Locomotive Engineers' Journal

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Machinists' Monthly Journal

International Association of Machinists.

Pattern Makers' Journal

Pattern Makers' League of North America.

Painter and Decorator, The

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers.

Railroad Telegrapher, The

The Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

Railway Clerk, The

Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

Railway Carmen's Journal

Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

Shoe Workers' Journal, The

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

United Mine Workers' Journal

United Mine Workers of America.

Union Health Center Journal

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Upholsterers' Journal

Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

Workers' Education Quarterly

Workers Education Bureau of America.

(AUTHOR'S NOTE: The above list of Labor Publications is but a partial list of the publications of American Labor. For a complete list of the Editors and addresses the student may refer to the American Labor Press Directory, published by the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.)

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Author of "Woman's Work in Municipalities," Joint Author with
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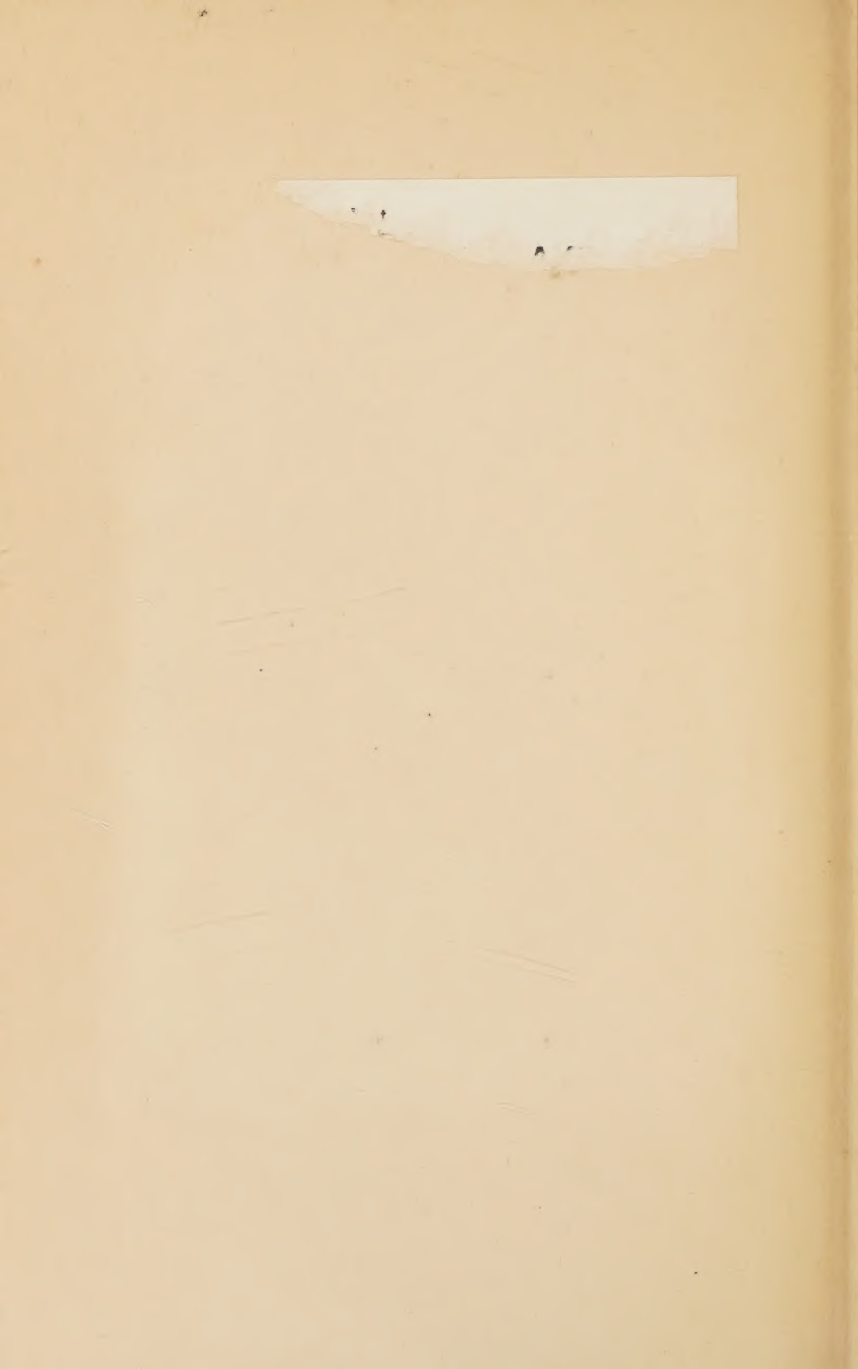
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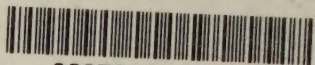
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